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BHARATA MANISHA

QUARTERLY

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Kewal Krishan Mittal

Affinity Between Jainism and the Sāṁkhya

It is traditionally accepted that the Sāṁkhya is a theistic (Āstika) system of Indian Philosophy while the Jaina thought is atheistic (Nāstika).[1] Further, it is customary to characterize the Jaina thought as pluralistic realism while the Sāṁkhya is described as a dualistic system.[2] Again, the Jainas take pride in calling themselves Kriyāvādīs (believers in the Philosophy of action) and condemn all other schools of Indian thought including the Sāṁkhya as akriyāvādī.[3] It is believed that the Sāṁkhya is primarily a school of Philosophy while Jainism is much more a religion than a Philosophy.[4] Pradhāna Kāraṇavāda (Prakṛti, the primal matter is the cosmic cause), a cosmological doctrine upheld by the Sāṁkhya system is clearly mentioned in a list of wrong doctrines by the Jaina sūtras.[5] Another Sāṁkhya principle, namely, 'aloofness of the Puruṣa in the explanation of changes in the affairs of the world' too is argued against and rejected by the Jainas.[6] It is well known that the Jainas recommend an extreme sort of mortification of the flesh in order to achieve the aim of life—Kevalajñāna or Mokṣa[7] and would not agree to the Sāṁkhya-yoga view that release can be effected through knowledge.[8]

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[1] A look at the introductory chapter of any of the well known histories of Indian Philosophy would bear it out.

[2] e. g. they are so characterized by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his Indian Philosophy.

[3] cf. Nathmal Tatia, Studies in Jaina Philosophy, pp. 25, 150, 224; B. M. Barua, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy pp. 377, 389; H. Jacobi Jaina Sutras (SBE XLV) Introd. pp. XXIV-XXV.

[4] cf. e. g. H. Jacobi, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. 11, p. 465 for 1.

[5] See e. g. Sutra Kritanga 1. 1. 3, 5-6.

[6] cf. Nathmal Tatia, op. cit. pp. 225-7.

[7] See—Acaranga Sutra i. ii. 6 and i. vii-5-4 see especially Jacobs note on the latter (SBE Vol. XXII) p. 70 note 2; cf also S. B. Deo History of Jaina Manachism p.ll footnote.

[8] cf. Keith, Sankhya System pp. 15-18; Sāṁkhya Kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa 44

After having a general survey of the two thought systems, the author of this short paper has reasons to believe that despite all these differences (mentioned above), Jainism and the Sāṁkhya schools of Indian thought share more ideas between them than are shared by any other two systems. One who seriously undertakes a comparative study of the two is likely to come across many a striking resemblance between them. Going a little deeper into the analysis of the general situation one may find that the differences are perhaps more apparent than real or at least the similarities (that he may discover) are more fundamental than them (the differences).

We can start with the examination of the differences referred to above in order to see if they can be dissolved or resolved. The first question that we may ask in this connection is: "How far is the placing of the Sāṁkhya in the Category of Theistic (Āstika) Schools of Indian Philosophy (in its usual division) Justified?' The Sāṁkhya thought, at least in its classical form, is surely not theistic in the ordinary and popular sense of the term in which it implies a belief in the existence of God. That in this sense the Sāṁkhya system is atheistic is so well known that it hardly needs any argument to prove the same.[1] It is in this context that one can understand the clear and bold statement of Late S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri that 'the atheism of the Sāṁkhya is one of its outstanding features'.[2] It may however be urged that Shri Sastri does not stop at this statement and goes on to argue that Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, the celebrated author of the Sāṁkhya Kārikā, the classical work on the system, 'is not an atheist but is merely an agnostic.'— Towards this it would be enough to point out that even if we leave aside the question as to how weak and forced is the attempt of Shri Sastri in the face of his own statement just quoted, it can definitely be asserted that the classical Sāṁkhya is not theistic, if not positively atheistic. It is admitted at all hands that Jainism is surely atheistic in this sense of the term. Jainism rejects belief in the existence of God and the Jaina thinkers refute all arguments offered by the theists.[4]

Our argument so far, it may be pointed out, does not touch the real points in as much as it is known to all the students of Indian Philosophy that the words theistic (Āstika) and atheistic (Nāstika) used in the context of division of the

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1. cf E. H. Johnston, Early Sankhya (Prize Publication Fund Vol.XV) London 1937 p. 16.

2. See The Sankhya Karika of Isvara Krishna (edited and Translated by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri Introd. p. XIX.

3. Ibid. pp. XIX-XX.

4. See e. g. A. B. Dhruva, Indroduction to (his edition of) Syādvāda Mañjari pp. LXXXVI-LXXXIX; Nathmal Tatia, Studies in Jaina Philosophy p. 268; H. Jacobi and Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. II p. 186 and Vol. VII p. 465.

schools of Indian Philosophy into two categories are not used in their ordinary and popular meanings but have a special and technical sense. Understood that way, the Sāṁkhya, they say, is theistic because it is based on the thought contained in the Vedas (Upaniṣads) and accepts the authority of the latter while Jainism is atheistic because it rejects the authority of the Vedas and falls outside the Vedic tradition. The tradition is very strong on this point and it must be granted that historically the Sāṁkhya and Jainism have, surely, been considered to belong to two different categories. But, in asking the question as to how far it is justified to place the Sāṁkhya system in the category of theistic schools, we are raising a logical rather than a historical querry.

There are two main arguments in favour of the view that the Sāṁkhya is a theistic school of Indian Philosophy. Firstly, it is so because the system (allegedly) accepts the authority of the Vedas; Secondly, the cosmogonic theories contained in the Upaniṣads are said to be the basis on which the Sāṁkhya Philosophy is built (or developed from). Both these arguments can by questioned. Sāṁkhya Kārikā[1] clearly lays down that the means for the removal of suffering as recommended by Śruti (Vedas) are not efficacious enough to achieve their end. It may be urged that what is rejected here is only Vedic Karmakāṇḍa (performance of Sacrifices as enjoined by the Vedas) and not the authority of the Veda as such as a source of saving knowledge. Further, in doing so the Sāṁkhya is in the good company of Vedānta, the adherence to the authority of the Vedas, in the case of which is beyond any reasonable doubt.

It is true both Sāṁkhya Kārikā[2] and Sāṁkhya Pravacana Sūtra[3] mention Āptavacana or Śabda Pramāṇa (verbal perception) and Anumāna (inference) and Āptavacana is defined as 'true revelation'. But the views that are expressed on testing of the truth of the sayings of the āptas by the Sāṁkhya thinkers (commentators of the well known Sāṁkhya texts) are very interesting. They amount to a virtual rejection of verbal testimony as an independent source of knowledge. "Huge giants do not drop from heaven simply because an āpta or a competent person says so. Only sayings which are supported by reason should be accepted by me and others like yourselves," says Aniruddha, the Vṛttikāra on the Sāṁkhya Pravacana Sūtra.[4] Vijñānabhikṣu thinks that the authority of the āptavacana needs to be established on the analogy of the statements made by the experts in other branches of knowledge such as Āyurveda—the latter being based on reason and perception.[1] Vācaspati Miśra maintains in his Sāṁkhya-tattva Kaumudi that the statements opposed to reason and experience must not be accepted to be true, even though they be claimed to be based on revelation.[2] He observes that to accept what is not reasonable is to descend to the level of children or lunatics.[3] It is well known that the Sāṁkhya accepts discriminative knowledge (Vivekajñāna) as the only valid means of realising Kaivalya or Mokṣa and the same, according to the system, can be achieved through the techniques of Yoga rather than had on trust from the scriptures. So, it may well be doubted if the Sāṁkhya is really belonging to the category of Vedic schools of Indian Philosophy on account of its accepting the authority of the Veda.

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[1] Karika 2; cf. also Sankhya Pravacana Sutra, 1.82 see also Aniruddha's commentary on sutra 1. 84.

[2] Karika 41

[3] Sutra 1. 154; IV. 3; VI. 51, 58, 59 etc.

[4] See Sāṁkhya Sūtra Vṛtti 126 as quoted S. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy Vol. II pp. 301-2.

Some one may argue still, however, that the Sāṁkhya is theistic (Vedic) in being based on the cosmogonic theories contained in the Upaniṣads' while Jainism is atheistic (non-vedic) or 'distinctly non-brahmanical' in being a development of 'the popular notions of a more primitive and cruder character, e. g. animistic ideas.'[4] In my opinion this contention, too, is not beyond question. We can offer two alternative arguments against this view. Firstly one may agree with H. Zimmer[5] and Garbe[6] in thinking that the Sāṁkhya is of a remoter antiquity than the Vedic thought and the Sāṁkhya ideas originally were not only not belonging to the Vedic stock but were positively opposed to the Vedic ones. And if it were so, the so-called 'basic ideas of the Sāṁkhya system as contained in the Upaniṣads' might as well have been there mentioned only to be transcended[7] or what we find in the Upaniṣads (as also in Mahābharata) as appearing to be the Sāṁkhya ideas (are only a perverted version of the original Sāṁkhya ideas) as is suggested by Garbe.[8] Secondly, one may urge that the unsystematic character of the Upaniṣads and their wide heterogeneity suggest that the 'animistic ideas'—which are said to be the original stock on which is based Jainism—also must not be excluded from the Upaniṣads. Evidently, the 'animistic ideas' are

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1. See Sāṁkhya Pravacana Sūtra bhāṣya i. 98; iv-51.
2. cf S. Radhakrishna op cit p. 301.
3. While commenting upon sutra 1.26 of the Sāṁkhya Pravacana Sūtra.
4. cf. H. Jacobi, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. VII p. 465.
5. H. Simmer, Philosophics of India (London 1951) p. 281.
6. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. XI. p. 189; cf also Garbe's edition and translation of Aniruddha's commentary on the original parts of Vedanti Mahadeva's commentry on the Sankhya Sutras. Introduction pp. XX-XXI.
7. cf. Devi Prasad Chattopadhyaya, Lokayata pp. 428-9.
8. cf. Belvalkar and Ranade, History of Indian Philosophy Vol. II, pp. 414-15.

very much there in the Upanişads. If the presence of certain basic ideas in the Upanişads be the only criterion of categorising the schools of Indian Philosophy then Jainism too must be placed in the same class as the Sāṁkhya.

Coming to the second difference between Jainism and the Sāṁkhya, we may state that this difference is, surely, more apparent than real. With all the emphasis on Anekāntavāda—implying plurality of reality each of which has many many aspects, the Jainas do ultimately talk of two fundamental realities heterogeneous to each other in character, namely, Jīva add Ajīya.[1] Further, even the Sāṁkhya thinkers have something parallel to Anekāntavāda in the case of Prakṛti[2] and plurality of soul is equally acceptable to the Jainas as to the Sāṁkhya.[3]

It remains true that the Jainas insist on the active participation of the soul in the affairs of life while puruṣa by the Sāṁkhya is maintained to be ultimately a non-doer (Akartā). This difference too would turn out to be merely apparent once we compare the state of Mokṣa as described by both the Sāṁkhya and the Jainas. Colebrook's remark that in Jainism 'just as in the Sāṁkhya Philosophy the soul is not really bound, though it seems itself to be' is not without any foundation.[4] Moreover, some Jaina thinkers do speak of the soul (Jīva) as 'unmoving in nature' and requiring the aid of matter for its movement.[5] As regards the doctrine of release (Mokṣa) both Jainism and the Sāṁkhya hold that it consists in the separation of the soul (Jīva or Puruṣa) from Matter' (Ajīva, Karmapudgala or Prakṛti). They describe the state of Mokṣa as Kevalajñāna and Kaivalya respectively. There is a slight difference in nomenclature but there seems to be none in meaning when we know that 'Kaivalya' stands for 'only knowership (Jñā)' in the context of Sāṁkhya Philosophy. It may be that Jainism is primarily a religion and the Sāṁkhya is a system of philosophy. But in so far as the Philosophical aspect of Jainism is concerned it is not fundamentally different from the Sāṁkhya thought.

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[1] See e. g. Uttarādhyayana Sūtra XXXVI; cf also Jacobi Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol. VII p. 465.

[2] Jacobi, "The Place of Jainism in the Development of Indian thought"—(an essay dated Bonn 19th March 1922). See Studies in Jainism by Dr. Hermann Jacobi—edited by Jinavijaya Muni (Ahmedabad 1946) p. 85.

[3] Ibid p. 80.

[4] Miscellaneous Essays Vol. II pp. 446-7.

[5] cf. Champat Rai Jaina, (his edition of Ratna Krandashrava Kachara of Samanta Bhadra— Introduction p, XXVV.

In arguing towards showing that the differences between Jainism and the Sāṁkhya are not of a fundamental nature my purpose is not to give the opposite impression that they are identical. I simply want to assert that there is a close affinity between Jainism and the Sāṁkhya. It may be asked : 'am I not flogging a dead horse in so far as the attention of the scholars of Indian Philosophy has already been drawn to the fact by such great orientalists as Jacobi and Garbe ?' In answer I may submit that unless the fact is reasserted we are likely to continue sleeping over it. Jacobi stated it in 1922. More than five decades have passed and we are yet to come across a serious and detailed comparative study of the two systems. The weight of tradition is so heavy that we easily overlook something that is contrary to it. Even Jacobi himself was double-minded on this point. He clearly recognises that there is an 'agreement in the metaphysical basis of Sāṁkhya and Jaina Philosophy'[1] and explains the situation by assuming that 'these systems rose into existence in about the same age and naturally worked the ideas current in it'.[2] But, weighed down by the traditional placing of the Sāṁkhya and Jainism in different categories, he does not see more than 'a kind of remoter affinity' between the two.[3] He seems to have completely forgotten his own statement when elsewhere he seeks the origin of the Sāṁkhya in the cosmogonic theories of the Upaniṣads and that of Jainism in 'the cruder more primitive animistic ideas.'[4]

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[1] Op. Cita(supra note 26) p. 79.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Supra note 20.

Moni Bagchee

Mahatma Gandhi : The Prophet of Nonverbal Persuasion

(108th Birth Anniversary Tribute)

I

Among the masters of symbolic behaviour ranks Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948). In struggling for political independence and social reform in India, Gandhi devised and implemented numerous forms of wordless persuasion. Indeed, the father of Indian independence made the greatest individual contribution to the technique of symbolic action in human history which represents one of the oldest forms of persuasive communications.

Returning to India in 1915 after two decades as lawyer, reformer, and revolutionary in South Africa, Gandhi forged a career which became a legend by itself. By fusing ancient moral values with revolutionary pragmatic politics, Gandhi came to symbolize, probably more than any other person, the soul of India, Appropriately his laudatory title *Mahatma* means 'Great Man', or 'Great Soul'

Gandhi pursued three major goals : an end to British rule, the elimination of the caste system, and Hindu-Muslim unity. He accomplished the first, partially succeeded in the second, and largely failed in the last. Underlying these objectives was a kind of 'super goal'—the purification of himself and, by extension, the whole of India. It is universally acknowledged that the spiritual quest permeated Gandhi's life and as such independence (*Swaraj*) for him meant more than the end of British colonialism; it also carried demands for personal and social regeneration, the purification of civilization, indeed no less than the establishment of the kingdom of Righteousness on earth (*Rama Rajya*). This blending of wordly and the spiritual at once both energized and confounded Gandhi's rhetorical efforts.

In seeking to explain and propagate his ideas and objectives, Gandhi produced a prodigious number of words both spoken and written. He edited three newspapers, *Young India*, *Harijan* and *Navajivan*, which became major vehicles for Gandhian thought. In addition, he engaged in extensive letter-writing, speech-making and negotiation with British and Indian leaders. Gandhi found, however, that his huge verbal output was insufficient for achieving the great goals he proposed for India. Often, it seemed, people were not moved by words alone. Gandhi sensed that this situation may have arisen from the limitations of language. Mahadev Desai in his *Day-to-Day with Gandhi* has recorded that once Gandhiji told him : 'The man who is prepared to sacrifice his body for any cause is bound to have power in his words and greater power still in his thoughts. Speech is only means of the expression of thought. Man cannot pull all his thoughts in words. Thought is a veritable ocean.' Given the limits of speech Gandhi projected deliberate, nonverbal action as a necessary supplement to words.

This philosophy and programme of moral activity Gandhi called Satyagraha ('Truth-force'). It concluded the age-old elements of protest, negotiation, agitation, demonstrations, self-purification rituals, strikes, picketing, sit-ins, economic boycotts, emigration to escape oppression, non-cooperation, and civil disobedience. To these were added the Gandhian imperatives of truth, nonviolence, and self-suffering. *Satyagraha* embodied a method of persuasion which used moral means to achieve moral ends. Gandhi warned that symbolic action must not be used as a substitute in place of words, but only as a supplement in addition to rational discourse : 'since satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a *satyagrahi* exhausts all other means before he resorts to Satyagraha. He will therefore constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinions, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and cooly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to Satyagraha'. (quoted in Pyarelal's *A Pilgrimage for Peace*)

The satyagraphic philosophy viewed persuasion as a process of transforming an opponent to a higher state of consciousness rather than simply defeating or overwhelming him through argumentation. Such an approach mirrored traditional Indian rhetoric which glorified consensus and sought the ultimate unity of contending factions. Rooted in the assumption that an adversary must eventually be swayed by an advocate's willingness to suffer, Gandhi's methodology illustrated the principle of vicarious atonement. Familiar to the Western world through Christ's death on the cross, the idea that one's own actions could atone for the sins of others was also well known in Indian thought. Hinduatonement (*prayaścitta*) manifested itself through penance, pilgrimage to holy places, fasting, prayer, song chanting, and the payment of gifts.

In developing a philosophy of nonviolent symbolic action Gandhi borrowed freely from Eastern and Western sources. Important influences included Buddha, Jesus, Thoreau, Ruskin and Tolstoy. A major shaper of his thought was the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a devotional dialogue of 18 chapters from the much longer Sanskrit epic, *The Mahābhārata*. Gandhi, as everybody knows, interpreted the *Gītā* as a divine allegory in which the divine activism and ethical duty are synthesized by the soul's struggle against evil. As far back as 1920, he wrote in *Young India* : 'If I raise resistance of a non-violent character, I simply and humbly follow in the footsteps of the great teachers.'

In applying this orientation to his own political programmes, Gandhi emerged as a personification of *Karma-Yoga*, the ancient Hindu belief that one can achieve spiritual liberation through self-effacing action. This is why he had reminded his disciples that 'to a perfect purity one has to become absolutely passion-free in thought, speech and action' and that human fulfilment requires the 'triple purity' of 'mind, word and deed'.

Thus, Gandhi's persuasive teachniques emanated from various cultural traditions, geographical areas, and historical periods. The synthesis of ethical truths into a programme on action for liberating India established his leadership and authority. A closer examination of specific applications of *satyagraha* can provide much insight into the nature of communication in India. Of all techniques of symbolic action, the fast or hunger-strike (*Anasana*) is most typical of Gandhi's character and temperament. Fasting afforded a method of influencing political policy and social attitudes by creating an emotional impact difficult to achieve through ordinary speech and negotiation. It also provided a source of spiritual renewal for a man dedicated to controlling his sense and desires. Gandhi undertook altogether fifteen fasts in India, championing causes ranging from improved labour conditions for Ahmedabad Mill workers to communal harmony between warring Hindus and Muslims.

Gandhi referred to fasting as 'a fiery weapon'. Tracing its usage to such religious leaders as Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and the Hindu deities Ramachandra and Parvati, Gandhi viewed true fasting as an experience of intense prayer, a 'yearning of the soul to merge in the divine essence. Proclaiming that any physical self-denial must be accompanied by equally rigorous mental discipline, he pointed out to the *Bhagavad Gītā's* vision of fasting as a symbol of outward restraint leading to inner self-control :

> For a man who is fasting his senses
> Outwardly, the sense-objects disappear,
> Leaving the yearning behind; but when
> He has seen the Highest,
> Even the yearning disappears.

To facilitate the search for spiritual peace Gandhi developed a set of guidelines to be observed during a fast. He advised that 'a person engaged in fasting should drink a lot of water, take sun baths and enemas regularly, conserve-energy, and concentrate on God.' He also emphasized that fasts must emanate from faith in God, must seek a clearly defined goal, and must never be used for personal gain. This could be effective he recognised, only in situations where a sufferer held a claim on the conscience of the adversary : 'A fast can be under taken only against a loved one and that, too, not for securing any rights but for reforming him...... But I may never fast against one who not only does not love me but regards me as his enemy for instance, General Dyer'.

Indicative of Gandhi's use of fasting as a vehicle for persuasion was his 'Epic' fast of 1932. Angered at the separate electorate status to India's 'Untouchables' by British Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald, Gandhi vowed to fast 'unto death' if the policy were not revoked. He feared that it would fragment Indian politics into communally based antipathies. Although imprisoned at the time at Yeravada Jail for civil disobedience, Gandhi sought maximum exposure for his symbolic act through press releases, interviews with visitors, and correspondence with the Prime Minister in London. As Gandhi's physical condition deteriorated daily, Hindu leaders negotiated feavishly with the Untouchables' chief spokesman, Ambedkar. Within days a compromise was reached and an agreement known as Yeravda Pact daclared that 'Henceforth no one is to be regarded as untouchable by reason of birth'. On the sixth day of the fast Prime Minister MacDonald accepted the new plan, and Gandhi ended his ordeal with Tagore offering songs from his Nobel Prize-winning *Gitāñjali* along with a glass of orange juice. It was on this memorable occasion that the noted American clergyman, John Haynes Holmes, wired from New York : 'Thank God your life has been spared. Satyagraha has won an immortal triumph.'

II

Further illustration of the notoriety attending Gandhi's nonverbal activity was the three-week fast of 1943, undertaken to protest the Prime Minister's charge that Gandhi and the Congress Party bore responsibilty for the violence surrounding the 'Quit India' campaign. Sensitive to Gandhi's attempts to use his acts to foment public opinion against colonial rule, the War Cabinet in London issued a policy statement a month before the fast began, ordering that the imprisoned leader be 'subject to such restrictions as would effectively limit his freedom to communicate with the outside world.' The government even prepared a tense, one-sentence announcement to be released in the event of death: 'The Government of India regrets to announce that Mr. Gandhi died while in detention at Poona at...... hrs. on ...... from collapse/heart failure following a self-imposed fast.'

One can imagine the frustration of British authorities who, preoccupied with the war in Europe, faced the additional spectre of open rebellion in India should Gandhi die during his fast, As regular bulletins detailed a lowering pulse rate, fears of his life increased. The British sought to discount the reports and on the seventeenth day of the fast the Viceroy telegrammed Winston Churchill : 'I have long known Gandhi as the world's most successful humbug and have not the least doubt that his physical condition and the bulletins reporting it from day to day have been deliberately cooked so as to produce the maximum effect upon public opinion. The degree of nervous tension and hysteria engendered by all this Hindu hocus pocus is beyond belief ...... We have won an important Victory.' Churchill concurred by commenting that 'I do not think Gandhi has the slightest intention of dying......What fools we should have been to flinch before all this bluff and sob-stuff.' Whether Gandhi ever was prepared to commit suicide in his fasts remains problematic; that he always found sufficient cause to rationalize an end to them is historical fact.

True to his dictum that nonverbal action be used only after all other means of persuasion had failed, Gandhi's fast of 1947 followed months of seemingly fruitless verbal campaigning on behalf of religious unity. In announcing his decision on September lst in Calcutta he declared : 'What my word in person cannot do, perhaps my fast will. It may touch the hearts of all the warring factions . . . ' Within three days the power of symbolic action had restored calm to the city, and the fast was ended after communal leaders signed a statement deploring violence.

Gandhi's last fast, launched January 13, 1948, proved to be one of the most dramatic. Appalled at the extensive rioting which followed the formation of Pakistan, Gandhi drew up a list of eight demands (all favouring the Muslim minority). Unless they were agreed to he would fast unto death. The health of the aging man, then 78 years old, deteriorated rapidly. Doctors explained that his kidneys were failing. Thousands of hushed spectators failed past his weakened body on display in New Delhi. Telegrams and editorials around the world expressed hope for his survival. Finally communal leaders accepted all of his demands, and the Indian cabinet agreed to pay the 550 million rupees due Pakistan as its share of the partitioned nation's assets. Satisfied that his goals have been achieved, Gandhi ended the fast on January 18 with a ceremony of hymns and scriptures belonging to all religious sects.

The potency of these fasts was largely emotional. The willing sacrifice of one's body for a noble cause sought to stir human pity and arouse moral conscience. Recognizing the *paths* at work, Gandhi unshamedly admitted that fasts spoke 'the language of the heart'. Possibly, the persuasive potential emanated from the very nature of hunger, a universal phenomenon to which all people can relate, especially peasants familiar with India's recurrent famines. By flaunting the natural need for food Gandhi gained a measure of supernatural power. In weakening his own body he paradoxically strengthened his grip on the mass mind.

Fasting also proved effective due to cultural values imbedded in Indian society. The concept of renunciation permeates the Hindu ethic and orthodox Hindus observe daytime fasting during the month of Shravan. In Jainism, an ascetic tradition derived from Hinduism, death induced by an absolute fast is regarded as an ideal form of self-mortification. To sum-up, by reinforcing norms and values held by his audience, Gandhi's nonverbal strategy seemed well-adopted to the cultural environment in which he operated.

III

Another technique of symbolic action employed by Gandhi involved the deliberate abstention from speech. During the final three decades of his life he regularly observed Mondays as a day of silence. 'Silence is all' — so Gandhi once remarked to a foreign correspondent. The communicative value of this practice lay in its reinforcement of Gandhi's image as a saintly seeker of truth. Indians could envision godlike poses of a contemplative ascetic communing with God, although the pragmatic Gandhi also used such days for answering correspondence and planning his next harrassment of the British.

Nearly all religious traditions, including Hinduism have associated spiritual power with silence. No doubt through silence Gandhi wielded a great moral power the impact of which was always felt by his countrymen whenever he used to undertake it. Gandhi reflected his awareness of the Indian regard for silence in a letter dated August 28, 1932 : 'Silence is looked upon as a very important thing among our people. *Samādhi* means silence. *Muni* (Sage) and *Mauna* (sagehood) are both derived from the same root. It is true that when we practice silence at first, many thoughts enter our minds and we even begin to doze. Silence is intended to remedy these defects. We are accustomed to talk much and hear loud sounds. Silence therefore seems difficult. A little practice however enables us to like it and when we like it, it gives us a sense of ineffable peace. We are seekers of truth. We must therefore understand what silence means and observe it accordingly.' (quoted in *The Diary of Mahadev Desai*)

The observance of days of silence (also called 'speech fasts') ideally suited Gandhi's temperament. Shyness in public speaking had plagued his early career and contributed to his forsaking the legal profession. And although Gandhi grew increasingly accustomed to the public platform, his introspective personality remained sensitive to the spiritual benefits of silence as he acknowledged in his autobiography: 'My hesitancy in speech, which was once an annoyance, is now a pleasure. Its greatest benefit has been that it has tought me the economy of words ... ... Experience has taught me that silence is part of the spiritual discipline of a votary of truth. A man of few words will rarely be thoughtless in his speech; he will measure every word.'

In his later years the Mahatma resorted increasingly to periods of silence, augmenting Mondays with additional times of self-imposed quiet. In 1938 he undertook a speech fast for two months, after which he commented that 'It has served me as a wall of protection and enabled me to cope with my work better than before'. While recovering from a hookwarm infection in 1944 he went on a two-week speech fast for medical reasons, remaining silent for twenty hours each day and talking only between 4 P. M. and 8 P. M. Gandhi found that silence helped conserve physical energy while also contributing to heightened introspection. John Mott, a Christian evangelist and ardent admirer, once suggested that the weekly day of silence was Gandhi's greatest accomplishment because it symbolically illustrated the storing up and releasing when needed of moral power.

Through the speech fast Gandhi communicated the need to control senses, importance of constant self-analysis and the usefulness of silence in maintaining psychic wholeness. He also enhanced his own image for, 'to, be isolated, to be in the world but out of the world, in a very special state'. Some indication of the impact of this message was expressed by Tagore who, in commenting on Gandhi's practice asked, 'Does not such silence amount to a speech stronger than any uttered word ?'

Let me state in conclusion that this partial review reveals the unrelenting continuity of Gandhi's nonverbal persuasion. Through various forms of symbolic action the saintly politician asserted his ideas and personality on Indian life for three decades. The persuasive power of Gandhi's nonverbal conduct resulted in part from his undeniably charismatic image. Gifted with a supernatural influence over people, charismatic leaders normally possess a high degree of spiritual energy producing an aura 'Messiahhood', high credibility, a demand for obediance by one's followers, innovative techniques of action, a hazardous message, and an ability to manipulate cultural myths. All of these qualities were abundantly evident in Mahatma Gandhi whom many Hindu viewed as an ascetic pilgrim blessed with the quality of discrimination and divine illumination.

Regardless of how one evaluates Gandhi's actions, nonverbal persuasion has continued to play an integral part in Indian communication in the post-Gandhian era. Gandhi's heir apparent, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, leader of the *Sarvodaya* Movement, commands a reputation garnered largely from a charismatic guruship. Gandhi lived a great life of devoted service to a great ideal and he has demonstrated in his own life the mighty strength of nonverbal persuasion of which he was the living symbol. Clearly therefore, his life provides a seminal model for students and practitioners of symbolic action.

Propounding his faith before an English judge Mahatma Gandhi said :

> **'I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection has made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically ... ... The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter.**
>
> **'Section 124-A, under which I am happily charged, is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law ... ... I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected toward a government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than ever she was before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system.**
>
> **'I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-cooperation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. I want to avoid violence. Nonviolence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed ... ... I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted on me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.'**
>
> **—Extracts from the Trial Speech.**

P. S. Sastri

Prof. M. Hiriyanna on Art

Prof. Hiriyanna wrote on Indian Philosophy and Art. His two books, *Essentials of Indian Philosophy* and *Outline of Indian Philosophy*, are monumental works that have not yet been surpassed. Armed with a first hand knowledge of the original texts, and gifted with a lucid expression and an incisive intellect, he gave an authoritative statement on Indian thought. When he came to write about art, he was ever alert to relate the theory of art to the Indian philosophical systems. As he put it, "we find in Sanskrit philosophical works parallels drawn from art which imply that the close relation of the beautiful to the good and the true was not all unknown to ancient India" (2). True to the traditional training he woke up to the problems of art in examining the Theories of art, he initiated a new approach to literary criticism. His interest extends to English literature as well.

"One of the Chief contributions of India to the general philosophy of art" is "The discovery that there is an order of poetry which requires a deeper form of appreciation and yields a higher kind of aesthetic experience than is ordinarily acknowledged" (42). This is a valuable statement which emphasises that the Indian theories of art are not to be ignored by any serious student. Art-criticism may not have been in India strictly a branch of philosophic speculation; but it did offer one valid approach to the study of the works of art. Critical theory cannot easily be divorced from the tradition and philosophy in which one is brought up. The validity of the theory depends on one's own native sensibility and on his outlook. Indian critical theory is thus an essential part of the Indian tradition, and the student of literature in India should not brush aside their heritage. Nor should they cling to it dogmatically. This approach offers new avenues for the student of literature.

In the west aesthetics was treated as a branch of philosophy. In India, says Prof. Hiriyanna aesthetic problems were separated from those of general philosophy (42). And yet in presenting Bhattanayaka's views on art, he did admit that this great critic extended the theories of Sāṁkhya and Mīmāṃsā systems of philosophy to explain the nature of art experience (13-16). Many a time the Professor extends Advaita Vedāntic theories to explain the nature of art (2 - 4, 7 - 10, 45, 50 - 61). Lollaṭa's interpretation of Bharata's aphorism on *rasa* is one given by a Mīmāṁsaka; Sankuta's comes from an extension of the Nyāya system of philosophy. Abhinavagupta's interpretation emerges from Kashmir Saivism. Jagannātha extends the Advaitic theory. Believing as he does in Advaita, the Professor accepts Abhinavagupta. This is rather strange. In ancient India the aesthetic theory was a branch of the metaphysics accepted by the critic. The Professor like his contemporaries and successors, has evidently relied on a separation of metaphysics from aesthetics. Here he is not alone amidst the modern Indian critics of literature.

The Indian approach has made the theories of art undogmatic. No theory he says, is conditioned by any philosophical view of reality (43 - 44). The presence of evil outside and of the ideal within have made the creation of art a necessity. Here Indian aesthetics transcends the defferences between the metaphysical schools (45-46). This is an over-simplification of the problem as we have it. One cannot explain Sankuta's theory without considering the Nyāya system. Jagannātha rejects Abhinavagupta or modifies his views because he was committed to the doctrines of Advaita Vedānta. Talking about the *Dhvanyāloka,* Hiriyanna observes that this work "develops its views in close connection with philosophic theories, raising now and again questions like the logical status of verbal testimony and the psychological basis of *śānta-rasa*" (71). Here he contradicts an earlier position he held. Ananda Vardhana accepted the Śivādvaya-vāda and hence he had to rely on Sphoṭa-vāda which was rejected by Śaṅkara. The Professor appears to be involved in a serious confusion because as an Advaitin he cannot accept the doctrine of *sphoṭa.* Defending the concept of *dhvani* (suggested meaning), he states : "whatever in sound or sense subserves the poetic and in view is a *guṇa*; whatever does not, is a *doṣa*". What matter is the adequacy of expression to convey thought or emotion to others", for true art is "a compound of feeling and imagination". "Art represents the almost spontaneous expression of a responsive mind when it comes under the spell of an imaginative or on emotional word" Since expression is only "a means of suggesting or pointing to the unpliat significance", Prof. Hiriyanna finds a close parallel in the doctrine of *ātman*" (7).

By about the ninth century an important change took place in Indian aesthetic theory. That was the introduction of the theory of *dhvani.* Instead of regarding meaning as the content of art, this school advocated emotion as its true content. Art should appeal to the imagination, and "imagination always implies the presence of emotion." The true content of art is "the emotional character of the situation depicted by the artist" (48). As a result the excellences of form and content are to subserve the emotion. This school received many adherents till Jagannātha of the early 17th century shattered it to a large extent. The theory, however, has its sources in a philosophical system. Hiriyanna does not appear to accept Jagannāthas view, though as an Advaitin he aught to have done so.

The Upaniṣads speak of *Ānanda* which is Brahman and which represents "the inner harmony of the universe" (7). Delight arises when we transcend the inner tension that characterises life (9). This transcendance implies the absence of desire. The immediate aim of art is pure delight and the successful artist induces an attitude of detachment. Our concentration on a work of art is aided by devices like rhythm and symmetry. These devices also secure unity to the work. In artistic perception "there is a realisation of unity in variety" (10) Is it merely a unity or is it something else ? Hiriyanna does not answer this question.

Art is " an ultimate value in the sense that it is sought for its own sake and not as a means to anything else" (46). That is, art for art's sake does not mean the absence of a value, but the presence of a value in the work itself. Kālidāsa's Agnimitra paints a picture of Mālankā and finds it inferior to the original. He attributes it to the artist's *sithila samādhi*, the disrupted or broken concentration of the artist. The reader too should avoid such a state. Moreover, in the same play Kālidāsa speaks of fine art as *lalita vijñāna*, aesthetic knowledge or intellection. Such ideas do dominate Hiriyanna's approach to the problems of art.

The beautiful, says Prof. Hiriyanna, was not recognised at all as an independent concept or category by Indian philosophers (2). But the value of Beauty was feltby others, the aestheticians. Kālidāsa and others did recognise the universal appeal of art. The selfish and sensual side is entirely eliminated. A second set of thinkers held that art is the means of "experiencing *rasa* or aesthetic ecstasy" which is similar to "the ineffable peace of *mokṣa*". Since it is like yogic experience, only the fortunate can experience *rasa*.[3] Hiriyanna does not accept the Taittirīya statement *raso vai saḥ* as referring to aesthetic experience. It is not the content that makes a work artistic, for "no subject is beyond the reach of art". In other words, "art by virtue of its form as art can be of use to the spiritual aspirant."[4] In art experience "the object is contemplated, neither as related to oneself nor as related to others, but solely for its own sake."[5] This is a valid position. But the philosopher in him makes him modify it to such an extent that art appears to be not finally valid as a way out of the problems of life. Possibly his study of Hegel led him to this position.

Art experience is transient. It may seduce us and prevent us from fulfilling our obligations. The impersonal joy of art experience springs from an external stimulus which is an imaginative situation created by the artist. This situation is, however self-complete. A perfect work of art is a whole which "admits of neither additions nor subtractions" (25-26). This is a sound position arguing in favour of the organic or integral unity of the work of art, It is a doctrine to be traced from the time of Bhāmaha in India and from Aristotle onwards in the west.

"All art is a blend of form and content." The figurative ideas and sentiments are expressed by the content; and the form is expreesed by the musical language. "The legitimate function of form is to subserve the content" (47). Here we have a genuine difficulty. If the form is subordinated to the content, we can legitimately ask about the nature and value of form in art. The Professor, as we will find later, contradicts himself on this question. The form is not everything; but it cannot be viewed as inferior to the content, unless we adopt a moralistic or humanistic view of art.

The Professor is eloquent when he says "Like ethics, aesthetics is dependent upon philosophy and like ethics, it aims chiefly at influencing life" (2). Art has a moral function. It is a humanistic discipline. Then we cannot dissociate it from the moral values or from the larger concerns of human life. Art experience is characterised by unselfishness and by a pure and untainted joy (46). It is therefore "identifiable with the ultimate goal of life as it is conceived by the idealists" (47). And yet we are to accept the "alogical character of art" according to the *dhvani* theory (50). This is a doctrinaire approach.

Art is "a means of emotional culture". It offers "aesthetic delight and at the same time contributes towards the refinement of character". This explains why *rasa* (emotional mood) is more important than *Vastu* (fact) and *alaṁkāra* (imaginative mood) (7). It is for the sake of *rasānubhava* or aesthetic experience that we go to poetry, not for any criticism of life (21). The poetic world, however, is neither real nor unreal. We neither believe it nor disbelieve it. Art can have no bearing upon our activity, for all activity is directed towards real objects" (22). Then how can art contribute to the emotional culture ? Emotions will then have to be divorced from practical life. This is an unfortunate position.

Art is an ultimate value and is to be sought for its own sake. It is characterised by a unique kind of delight (27). But what is the relation of art to morality ? Since art presents a disinterested experience, and since "disinterestedness is the very root of all morality" how can we separate them ? The ethical attitude, we are told, is "essentially active" while the artistic is one of contemplation. The unselfishness arising in art experience, has an external stimulus while that of moral life has its root within (50-51). This is a facile distinction based on twin loyalties. On the one hand, the Professor does not want art to have any function other than that of the aesthetic delight; and an the other, he does not want to give up moral values.

The poet needs "constructive power". He selects, faces, and idealises. He reconstruct, the content imaginatively. The beauty of a work is "verified by his own heart " and then the reader forgets himself and realises the aesthetic and "The beautiful as a value needs to be striven for and achieved, no matter whether one approaches it as an artist or as a spectator". Art offers a form of contemplation and this "represents a *progressive* appreciation of the aesthetic object" (23). This purpose is immanent in the process of contemplation. The culminating state is "marked by the repose of achievement" (*Visranti dhamatva* of *rasa*). The value of art then lies in the totality of experience which is the aesthetic contemplation. Pleasure is only an aspect of that experience. The total experience stands for *rasas*, the aesthetic value (24) which includes delight, detachment, and sympathetic insight. In this value we do have aspects bordering on religion, ethics and philosophy because the work demands concentration and contemplation during the time of its composition and also while going through it.

The contemplation of a work of art leads to an impersonal attitude of mind. Because of such a self-forgetfulness, the contemplation offers a kind of spontaneous joy (25). Pleasure is only an aspect of the art experience (30). Since the contemplation is disinterested, the pleasure here is pure, It is *para - nirvṛtti* or "higher pleasure" (32) and it should not be confused with other physical pleasures as Borce and Richards seek to maintain.

When the poet transcends the tensions of ordinary life, he is under the spell of a unique experience which enables him to "spontaneously express himself in the form of poetry" (35). Here Hiriyanna quotes a statement of Bhaṭṭanāyaka: "yāvat pūrṇonacaitena tāvan naiva vamaty amum." He did not grasp the full significance of this statement. When Bhaṭṭanāyaka uses *Vamati* (purges), he is actually advocating the concept of Katharsis. The poetic pleasure involves purgation within limits and also a refinement or clarification of the emotions. One has to be full with the emotions before this twofold process can take place.

By refining our emotions, art may leave some good influence behind; "but .... there is no guaranty that it will". This is no argument.

If a work of art does not leave any good influence, the defect lies with the individual, not with the work. Moreover, the artistic work is both a means and an end. The moral value does not interfere with the artistic value. When a work represents life and its values, we cannot brush aside the larger interests that a work can and does fulfil in human life. Even "the disinterestedness of the aesthetic attitude" is only "a reaction to an imaginary situation." But do we not compare this situation with that of the normal life ? If there is no similarity, we have a reference to the basic values of human life. Yet Prof. Hiriyanna observes that if art is ethically neutral, "it ceases to be a human value" (51). The work of art does recognise as a fact of life, and "art cannot be altogether divorced from morality." It must be "a criticism of life's values." We are thus told that we follow a double standard. He speaks of Yoga as "a perfect creation of Shakespeare" and also "condemn him as wicked in the extreme." When art is separated from morality, there can be a "possible degeneration" of art. The ethical influence must be indirect. The outlook of the characters in a work of art must be moral (52). Where there are no characters, as in a lyric, what counts, is the artist's outlook. Thus we are told that art should not have "*a moral aim*", but that it should have a "moral *view*". That is, the moral value should not be confined to the story, for "the story is not the end in dramatic art; it is only a means to the communication to the spectators of the *rasa* in question" (53). But can we draw a distinction between the moral aim of the artist and the moral view ? The view is based on the aim. Either we reject all moral values from the sphere of art, or make them integral to the artistic vision. No one can ignore the moral aim and the moral view appearing as a fused whole in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Possibly Hiriyanna seeks to preserve the ideals of Europe and of India at the same time, though he is aware of a difference. This is clear when we find him saying that Vālmīki embodies in himself a life of disinterested and loving service. This idea of practical life is found in Kālidāsa's Kaṇva.[7] In his account of the lives of Aja and Raghu, Kālidāsa presents a synthesis of the active and ascetic lives.[8] In his *Kumāra Saṁbhavam* he represents the lower kind of love, and revives *Kāma* in a purified form.[9] A similar approach appears in the case of Śakuntalā.[10] "The aesthetic and the moral attitudes......are more closely allied to each other than we imagine, and are only partial and provisional (6) manifestations of the ultimate spiritual experience." That is, Hiriyanna, as a true Indian seeks a fusion of the aesthetic and ethical values. Then the content is not to be ignored. "The content of art may be defined generally as the meaning which it expresses." The general character of the content comes from actual life, but it should be "Judiciously idealised." By idealising it, the artist appeals to our imagination, not merely to the intellect; and he transforms the particulars into universals in order to "induce a detached attitude in the spectator" (47). This detachment is a moral value preached by the *Gītā*.

When a moral ideal dominates the conduct of a character, and when it is "woven into the structure of the plot" it becomes "an organic part of the content of art" (53). The example cited is *Uttara - rāma - carita.* As an integral part of the plot, the moral ideal dominates the aesthetic value; or, at best transmutes the aesthetic value. It is because of this that Indian aestheticians spoke about character. The artist can choose any theme, but "the scope of the artist's choice" must be restricted to "the higher aspects of life" (54). Why? It is because art cannot exist as a human value in the absence of a moral standpoint. Hiriyanna realises this to a large extent and therefore he wisely and accurately observes : "Art becomes the passive expression of a permanent attitude, as morality is the active expression of the same" (60). This is a distinction in degree and not in kind. The traditional Indian critic spoke of art for art's sake (*sadyaḥ paramiruriti*) and at the same time he never forgot the ethical content (*upadeśa*) of art.

"The emotive content or theme of a literary work" is different from the aesthetic sentiment which......its idealised representation evokes in the reader an expectation." Thus Duṣyanta's love is the theme, while the emotion is *Śṛṅgāra* (63). Hiriyanna, after asserting the inseparability of form and content, still speaks of a divorce between the content and the sentiment. The sentiment arises from the content, and the content is formed by the sentiment. It is debatable whether the play of Kālidāsa deals with love. It points to *Śānta rasa.*

Let us consider the problem posed by Śānta Rasa. Hiriyanna admits that there is only *rasa* and that the socalled *rasas* are its various forms brought about by their psychological determinants (38). He refers to the *Abhinava Bhāratī*, where Abhinava has only *Śānta rasa* in mind. Hiriyanna also admits that since there are "Situations in life involving the quietistic sentiments", Sānta must be recognised as a *rasa* (63). *The Mahābhārata* and the works of Aṣvaghṣao are given as examples of *Śānta rasa.* Art, he realises, has the power to enable man to attain the peace of spirit which "even a *Yogin* has to strain himself long to win" (64). Abhinava admits that all the *rasas* have to culminate in *Śānta* alone. This is a *rasa* characterised by a philosophic calm and by a spiritual realisation. If this be the end of art, we have to admit a moral and a spiritual purpose for art. Bhaṭṭanāyaka admitted it very clearly. But Hiriyanna, like the Hegelians and Broce, seeks to give the highest value to a philosophic experience at the expense of the artistic. Philosophically speaking this position may be sound. But when we are interested in preserving the autonomy of art, such a position relegates art to the background. Yet Hiriyanna is alive to the problem here, for he knew well that art experiences are of detachment, are of selflessness. The trouble is how to reconcile art with philosophy.

Art is like *niṣkāma karma,* and it ' may, by purging our emotions, help.... the inner assimilation of the ultimate truth, for devotion to the beautiful is not less unselfish than devotion to the good."[12] Music for instance, assists the contemplative side of discipline, as we read in the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.[13] Art is the lay man's yoga. "The contemplation of a work of art leads to an attitude of mind which is quite impersonal."[14] Here man becomes unselfish and forgets himself completely. But the satisfaction is transient, even though art offers" an intimation to man of the possibility of realizing the ideal."[15] "It gives us a foretastic of the ideal state."[16] The function of the artist is" to restore equanimity to the mind by leading us away from the common world and offering us another in exchange" (13). It is difficult to reconcile these statements with art for art sake which Hiriyanna accepts to some extent. The only way left is to agree that the artistic experience and the art product are impersonal. This is what the Professor does in his writings.

"The creations of art are wholly impersonal." The "impersonalised forms" of art enable us "to transcend personal relations" (13). Indian theoreticians never accepted the view that a work of art is the expression of the artist's personality. Even when a poet offers a lyric like *Meghadūtam* the poet's personality is not present in the work. This is in line with the Indian tradition which believed in the elimination or the transmutation of one's personality. In the agony of Rati, Ajai, Purūravas, and Duṣyanta, presented by Kālidāsa one may become aware of a personal grief. But it is only because the pathos is so sincerely expressed as to mislead the reader. This partly explains why our Sanskrit poets or their successors did not leave behind any biographical data. One's own personal life is of no consequence when life is to be lived in order to realise the *puruṣārthas*. The highest goal is *mokṣa* and therein personality does not count.

But do we not have the poets own reactions to external nature ? Here we have to note that "Nature as a whole is beautiful", but it may not appear so because we perceive only fragments of nature. An experience of complete beauty is possible only in art. Even the parts of nature may not always appear to be beautiful. The creations of art are not subject to such defects. "It is the presence, on the one hand, of evil in life and, on the other, of an ideal within as has led to the invention of art" (45). When nature is invested with human feelings and emotions, the Indian aestheticians took it to be a case of *rasābhāsa*. This is particularly true in their evaluation of Kālidāsa's description of spring in his *Kumāra saṁbhavam*. They admired it and yet they could not accomodate it because, as with the Greeks, the Indians too considered art to be an idealised and universalised representation of life. In this sense art is an imitation (*anukṛti*), as Bharata said. But nature can enter art only as a background or as providing a situation for the artist. Nature has a role to play, but she cannot usurp the human foreground.

Prof. Hiriyanna rejects Broce's view that nature becomes beautiful only in the spiritual activity of the artist. Some objects do appear, as more attractive and interesting than others.[17] But while only fragments of nature appear as beautiful, the work of art is a world by itself. The world of art is like Nature, but it is idealised.[18] The poet does not merely copy Nature or life, though his situations are modelled upon Nature. He invents many new elements whence the poet is compared to the creator (17). We then demand that the poet's world should be perfect, even if ours does not appear to be so. In creating his world, the poet has "to reveal to us the inner significance of the world of Nature " 19), Nature then cannot enter the world of art as she is. There is no place of pure realism or for a mere naturalism in Indian art.

The word *Kavi* means "one that shows". In order to show he must have *seen.* As such *Kavi* has come to mean "Seer". He discloses the truth of Nature, and by presenting something for our contemplation he becomes superior to Nature (20). He passes on to us the poetic experience which is called *rasa* (21). This is supported by Tanta Bhatta's statement that only a seer (*ṛṣi*) can give us a poem, that he is a *ṛṣi* because he alone sees truth, and that the seeing is a revelation realisation and manifestation of the immanent and transcendental truth. To achieve this, the poet has to start with the given, but not to end with it. His imaginative insight (*pratibhā*) offers him a profound revelation concerning nature.

"The myriad impressions that reach us from the outer world" are merely the "outward and visible symbols" of beauty. They have an "underlying harmony". "Perfect beauty which is identical with the ultimate reality is revealed only to the knower. We perceive only its outward symbols and we may describe them as beautiful in a secondary sense, since we experience *Ānanda* at their sight" (8-9). True beauty then cannot be expressed in words and it cannot be known objectively. "It can only be realised" by "a fit reader of poetry" (*sahṛidaya*) (18). The Sanskrit word means "one of similar heart". "The fact and the reader of poetry are of the same temperament" Naturally then the circle of competent readers of poetry is restricted. While the competent reader has only poetic feeling, the poet has also the gift of poetic expression. We seek the aid of poetry a full self-revelation (18). "Here we are helped by the *Vyañjanā Vyāpāra* which is not merely "a process of suggestion". It demands that" the reader should ideally reproduce in himself, with the aid of the suggestive elements and with that of his own feeling equipment, a mode of experience similar to the one, under the spell of which the poet has expressed himself in the form of the poem in question" (68). The elements are the *vibhāvas* and the like which the reader synthesises imaginatively. That is, the emotions are only suggested. Then for

Hiriyanna there can be no formal analysis of a work of art into its component parts. Such an analysis has only a limited scope.

"A poem of the higher type depicts a situation which is predominantly emotional" (33). Emotional situations may be the main theme of poetry. But "the poet's own feeling, according to the Rasa view, is *never* the theme of poetry" (34). On the other hand, we have here emotion recollected and *sublimated* in tranquility (35). By modifying Words-worth's statement, Hiriyanna offers a valuable insight if only we remember that by emotion he means *rasa* as advocated by the Indians. The felt emotion cannot be described. It can only be suggested. "The emotional aspect of the situation can be indicated only in an indirect or mediate sense, the media being the thoughts and images, as conveyed by the poet's words, of the objective constituents of that situation" (36). The emotion or *rasa* can only be suggested. But suggestion is concept that needs a careful handling. Anything can be suggested by anything, as we find from the numerical classification of suggested meanings. Hiriyanna in his eagerness to champion the concept of suggestion, fails to appreciate the value of *rasa*.

Thoughts and images become the means to the suggestion of the content. The final aesthetic fact in this kind of poetry is the emotional mood induced in the reader. "This mood cannot be *contemplated*. but can only be *lived through*" (36). The ultimate meaning or aim in this kind of poetry is the inner process of experiencing. The experience transcends the subject-object relation. This higher experience is called *Rasa* (37-38). But how does suggestion help this realisation ? Abhinavagupta speaks of *rasa-dhvani*. But no one has been able to explain its nature so far. The concept is valuable, but it has not been shown as workable.

The poet does not depict his own feeling. He presents a situation which occasions that feeling. There is in the reader's mind an ideal revival (*udbodhana*) of a similar emotion which is latent in all. It is not a reminiscence, but a reconstruction (38-39), for an emotion cannot be communicated. "The mind of the responsive reader first becomes attended to the emotional situation portrayed (*hṛdaya-saṁvāda*), through one or more of the knowing touches ......, is then absorbed in its portrayal (tanmayi bhāvanā); and this absorption......results in the aesthetic rapture of Rasa (rasānubhava) (40). The process is admirably explained. But there is no room here for an objective analysis of a work of art. The *dhvani* theory can be accepted only under certain restrictions. Hiriyanna does not do justice to the critics of the theory, as we find from his summary dismissal of Mahiwarbhatta and Mukula.

The concept of *dhvani* was extended to the *alaṁkāras* and to the Vastu. The subject of art may be emotion (rasa-dhvani), an imaginative situation

(*alamkara-dhvani*), or a matter-of-fact representation (*Vastu-dhvani*) (50). This is good as far as it goes. But it fails to take into consideration the poetry of statement (svabhāvokti) or the poetry leading to the realisation of *śānta*. These two forms clearly show that the formulation of the theory by Mamatva is inadequate, and that one should carefully consider the views of Viśvanātha and Jagannātha. Hiriyanna does not appear in his writings to have considered the views of these two great aestheticians.

There can be poems having no emotional theme like love or pathos. Here the words convey thoughts images, which are the essential content of the poem and which do contribute to the beanty of the work (35). The experience here "takes the form of comtemplating the poetic object" (37).

Hiriyanna's views on art are, however, valuable. He was a pioneer. Aware of the European and Indian theories, he tried to initiate a new approach to the study of literature and art. The shortcoming in his approech are caused by the tune and by a discovery of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. Yet he has offered a humanistic approach which is of great value till this day,

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1. *Art Experience*, Karyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1954. The numbers in brackets refer to the pages of this book.
2. *The Quest for Perfection*, Karyalaya Publishers, 1952, P. 31
3. *Ibid.*, P. 32
4. *Ibid.*, P. 33
5. *Ibid.*, P. 41
6. See *Dhvanyālaka Locana Kaumudī*, P. 102
7. *The Quest*, P. 45
8. *Ibid.*, P. 94
9. *Ibid.*, P. 98
10. *Ibid.*, P. 99
11. *Abhinava Bhāratī*, I. 273-4, 293
12. *The Quest*, P. 33
13. *Yājñavalkya Smti*, 3. 114
14. *The Quest*, P. 49
15. *Ibid.*, p. 58
16. *Ibid.*, See *Art*, P. 28
17. *The Quest*, P. 50
18. *Art*, P. 12

R. R. Saksena

Jesus Christ's Life in India

Dr. Radhakrishnan, a former President of India, in his book, "Eastern Religions and Western Thought" wrote, on page 165, "New Testament gives us the story of Jesus till the age of 13 and is silent about the next 17 years till his appearance at the place of preaching of John, the Baptist. Legends that he travelled in the East in the intervening period are sometimes mentioned for which there is no historical evidence." Three years back, the author brought to Dr. Radhakrishnan's notice certain books, published in the West, which gave details of Christ's travels and studies in India. They were obviously not available then and in his letter dated 25. 2. 1974, he sent "his good wishes" to the author for research in this direction. He expired subsequently a year later.

2. One such book, "The Mystical Life of Jesus" by H. Spencer Lewis, Ph. D. published by the Supreme Grand Lodge of Amore, San Josa, California, U. S. A., states —

(a) "The boy (Jesus) proceeded with a number of others who were going a short distance of the way, in caravan form, by the shortest route to Jagannath. The city was located on the east coast of India and its present day name is Puri. It has been the centre of Buddhism for centuries." This journey "took one year" (Page 180).

(b) Jesus studied at Puri for one year in the first instance and ' became thoroughly familiar with teachings of Lamas whom he invited to Jerusalam" P. 181).

(c) Jesus went to Ganges and stayed at Varanasi for several months and learnt the Hindu method of healing from Udraka, greatest Hindu healer. Jesus again came to Puri and studied religion and philosophy for 2 more years at Puri where he was also appointed as a teacher (Page 181).

(d) "Joseph received the said news that His father in Galilee had passed on and His mother was grieving and none was able to comfort her. It was at this time that young Joseph expressed Himself for the first time in definite words, which were recorded, and are still preserved. He sent by Essence Messengers a letter to his mother saying "Beloved mother; Be not grieved for all is well for father as with you.........Try then to be content until I COME TO YOU SOON AND BRING TO YOU RICHER GIFTS THAN YOU HAVE SEEN, AND GREATER THAN THOSE MADE OF GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES... ...I am sure that my brothers will care for you and supply your needs and I am always with you in mind and spirit. YOUR SON ; JOSEPH."

(e) The text of this letter from Jesus Christ written from Jagannath Puri to His mother at Galilee is 2 paged and is printed on pages 184-85 of that book. The author later mentions that "after Joseph had completed the study of Buddhist teachings and Hindu doctrine in India, he journeyed to Lhasa in Tibet" and met the famous Buddhist Monk "Mengtse".

(f) The author has mentioned that Chirst's letter at (d) and the above facts "have been carefully preserved and recorded." He has referred to specific documents to confirm all this. Some of which are Archieves of Rocicrucian order, Ancient records based on Archieves of ancient monasteries of Essenee Brotherhood, Essence records" (P. 178) "Scrolls have been found in caves ....1900 years old record. These were hidden in caves for safe keeping by Essences" (P.42), oath and pledge not to communicate and maintain secrecy (P, 27-28).

3. Similarly "Unknown Life of Jesus Christ" Notovitch by Professor G. L. Christie of Paris University and V. R. Gandhi published by Indo-American Book Company, Chicago, U. S. A. States :

(a) One Russian "Notovitch" went to Laddakh and Tibet in 1890 and was surprised to see the mention of the name of Jesus amongst the Lamas there. On enquiry, he was shown some records and books giving details of Christ's religious study at the age of 20 at Tibet and his stay in India for 5 or 6 years. He brought photo copy of a few pages of those records of the ruling Himis dynasty which are reproduced in that book.

(b) Christ left for India after the age of about 13 in response to his intense desire to know more of Hindu spiritualism, religion and philosophy for which India was known in those days and also to avoid his marriage (P.64). He went to India with a merchant caravan through sind (P.XVIII).

(c) He was so intelligent that he well learnt "Pali" (P.70). He went to Himalayas, Pages 59 to 98 of the book give detailed life of Christ in India.

(d) He studied in Jagannath Puri, a Buddhist Centre for 5 years which had a good collection of books and also studied at Rajgir and Varanasi. He was well versed in Jain literature (P. 111 and 112).

4. Another very important book, "Acquarian Gospel of Jesus, the Christ" by Levi, published by Devorrss and Co., Los Angels, U. S. A. has devoted no less than 15 Chapters (XXI-XXXV) to Christ's life in India and Tibet. He has narrated almost all the facts described in the preceding two paragraphs and has given their further details. Some new points from that book are —

(a) Jesus came to India with a royal prince of Orissa, Ravvanna who had gone to Palestine on some business.

(b) Jesus was highly praised by his Guru Barata Araba who taught him Vedas. Vidyapati, a sage and chief of the temple of Kapilvastu, held Jesus in high esteem.

(c) Jesus attended the Council of Sages at Alexandria. This was also attended by some Sages from India. Jesus greatly loved Vedic hyms and Avesta.

5. "The Bible in India, Hindu origin or Hebrew and CHRISTIAN REVELATION" by M. LOUIS JACOLLIOT also throws light on the subject. The well known sage, Sadho T. L. Vaswani, in the "East & West Series" No. 91 for January 1965, published by Mira Institute, Poona, mentions, that Jesus came in contact with Indian Yogis, and studied Buddhism and Vedanta. He also came to Puri where, between the Big Temple and the Sea there is a good garden stretched on in a quiet place and consecrated to Christ.

6. In addition to these, there are several authoritative publications of India which mention about Christ's coming to India (a) Bhavishya Maha Puran, an accepted book of ancient India makes a mention that Jesus Christ, who was then known by some as Yus Yusuf, had discussions with Raja Shalvahan (b) During author's recent visit to Jagannath Puri Sri Sada Shiva Ratha Sharma, President, Mukti Mandal, Puri on 11.11.75, showed the author a Sanskrit manuscript "Sadhoo Tipni" on Palm leaves, Centuries old, which stated that Christ (therein named as Christa) and his devotee Sadho Sundar Das used to live and study at a temple in Mohalla "Jai Tota" (Bara Santha) near Jagannath Temple. As this was also mentioned in the article of Sadho Vaswani, the author with Sri Sharma visited the spot in November 1975. It was a ruin of old buildings. The tradition is that in the old days there was a big wood cross somewhere in that area. It has a big garden and some old coins were also found there. Some local Christians are of the view that Christ also used to stay, while he was at Puri, at monastery over the ruins of which there is now a Chapel and "Sisters oldorers Blessed

Secraments Convent School, Puri." A Spanish Lady holds daily prayers now and it is also attended by local Hindus (c) The Tibetan manuscript referred to in para 3 (a) still exists with Lamas and its photo copy is in the book, "Unknown Life of Jesus Christ."

7. Lord Jesus Christ is one of the greatest man of this world, loved and respected even by his opponents. He has the largest number of followers of any one religion. Inspite of the adverse roll of "Christianity" and Unwanted Conversions by empire builders for centuries together, his teachings are still the guide line for even non-Christians. It is therefore surprising why a long period of about 6 years which he spent in travels and studies in India is not to public notice. The reasons are not far to seek. Firstly, the Govt. there which was so cruel that they put him to death in a most shameful manner, should have created terror in the public for any love or sympathy towards Jesus. This atmosphere continued for about a hundred years when there was demand to know Christ's teachings. The 4 gospels were then brought out and approved as his teachings. Dodd Collens in his book, "The Founder of Christianity" says that Luke was written about 75 A. D,, Mark 90 A. D. Mathew 95 A. D. and John 100 A. D. Secondly, as the word Gospel itself denotes their narration is with a view to import teachings and not to narrate his history. Thirdly, as is well known, "Jesus did not leave any writing of his own, nor did any of his direct disciples write any of the gospels". Fourthly, there was no paper or printing in those days and whatever writing on leaves etc., was collected was safely placed in libraries. The biggest Library then was Alexandria Library which, as is well known, was put to fire by Muslim conquerers. Jacoliot's book, referred to in para 5, clearly states that Christ's travels in India would have been well in public notice, had not the Alexandrian Library been burnt by the Turks and every detailed proof was available there.

8. Christ is a messenger of peace and the basic doctrine of Indian Culture is 'Shanti' (Peace). Swami Vivekananda, as early as 1895, predicted "Europe is on the edge of a Volcano. If the fire is not extinguished by a flood of spirituality, it will erupt." Dr. George Wald of the Harvard University, a Noble Prize Winner, declared at Ottawa on February 8, 1976 "I am afraid the world we know is doomed. It is difficult for many Scientists to Visualise how human society will survive much past the year 2000. Left to myself, I would shut down all the nuclear power plants immediately because they are theatening further life on earth for tens of thousands of years to come." With all the material now forthcoming some of which is detailed above, it is high time that a regular research and study of Christ's Life in India be taken up by some individual, institution or even Govt.

and a monument at Puri is also desirable. This will be in the interest of world Peace, Spiritual wisdom and international integration. Besides the references in this article, the author is in the know of about a dozen other books which directly or indirectly throw light on Christ's Life in India, and these will be brought to the notice of such individual, institution or Government, when they contact him at Shanti Bhavan, New Model House, Lucknow, India.

Mavji K. Savla

Kutchi : A Language that Refuses to Die

In medical profession, one sometimes comes across cases where chances of survival are nil, but miraculously enough, out of sheer self-confidence and vitality of spirit, the patient not only lives but also thrives and blooms. So is the case with some languages and dialects.

In the history of languages casualties are no less. The Brāhmi is no more except on pre-histotic rocks. Magdhi, the one time extensively prevalent language in Northern India is lying dormant in the scriptures of Jainas, and so is the fate of Pāli; now breathing its last in Bauddha Sūtras. Why ? even 'VRAJABHĀṢĀ' which was rich in literature and popular in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat only three centuries back, has lost the struggle for survival.

All over the world, dialects are now gradually fading away because of the aggression in the form of our so called 'Culture'. It seems that official language of rulers by its very nature of dominance and status unconsciously crushes or drives away the other prevalent dialects or languages in the region. It works like a slow poison.

Kutchi has survived against all the odds. It has history of one thousand years. Rulers of Kutch spoke Kutchi but never gave it a status of official state language. The official state language of Kutch has always been Gujarati. Kutch rulers generally married from Saurashtra and other provinces; as a result, a child in royal family inherited the Kutchi language from father and not from mother. Hence Kutchi came to be called "Babani Boli", i. e. fathers's tongue (not mother tongue). And neither did Kutchi receive any encouragement, backing or support from any charitable institution nor from any wealthy person individually. Yet Kutchi has survived, nay, thrived, which is a proof of its intrinsic vitality and structural stability.

Structural stability of Kutchi is a challenge to linguists. If we take any present day form of language and compare it with the same language as it was spoken two centuries back, the gap will not only be noticeable but wide enough indicating the drastic change over.

Gujarati, Marathi or Tamil all have more or less changed their original form in the course of time. Miraculously enough, Kutchi has retained its original form fairly intact during its course, inspite of all the environmental and cultural changes. In this aspect, Kutchi can be compared with English only which has not much changed during last few centuries. Historically speaking, Rajputs of 'Sama' dynasty settled in Kutch from Sind in ninth century A. D. At the time major lot of the local population constituted of cowherds and shepherds who had migrated from Gujarat, Marwar, Sind and Tharpakar (Both Sind and Tharpakar are now in Pakistan). The language they spoke was a regional variant of 'Gaurjar Apabhransh'. The sama Rajputs brought with them 'Brachad Apabhransh' langnage from Sind. Gradually in course of time, Gaurjar Apabhransh of the local habitants and Brachad Apabhransh of Sind went on converging and the present form of Kutchi language emerged as a synthesis. Thus Kutchi and Sindhi are two parallel branches descended from their common ancestor 'Brachad Apabhransh'.

Because of the geographical situations and the then ever growing trade and commerce between Sind and Kutch, Kutchi has retained its close affinity with Sindhi. But after British Regime, Kutch came nearer to Saurashtra and Gujarat. As a result, Kutchi is influenced by Gujarati, as Sindhi is influenced by Urdu and Persian, because of Muslim rulers.

Earliest record of Kutchi can be traced to Mamaidev the presiding deity or Prophet of Harijans of Kutch. He dates back to 11th century, A. D. His sermons and prophecies are well-known but specifically some of his prophecies are significant ;

सिंध सुख़ें न वसंधी,
नऊं नऊं लगंधो डम:
मायश्री, न रोजा सिंधमें
ब्या अडाइजा घर.

Sind Sukhen na Vasandhi
Naun Naun lagandho dum,
Maishree na roja Sindhme,
Beya Adaija Ghar.

(There will not be peace in Sind; on and off new miseries will crop up. Oh ! Maishrees, settle not in Sind; construct your houses elsewhere).

शाह छडींधा शाहपणुं,
सच छडींधा शेठ;
ब्राह्मण भनन छडींधा,
करींधा जाडेजा वेठ.

Shah chhadindha sahapanu,
Such chhadindha Sheth,
Brahman Bhanan Chhadindha,
Karindha Jadeja Veth.

(Vaishyas will give up their racial duties, merchants will evade truth; Brahmins will give up learning, and the Jadejas (The Ruling Rajputs of Kutch) will have to toil for livelihood.

Saints, mystics and some eminent poets of early 20th century (Eg. Kavi Raghvji Niranjan, Shivji Devshi Madhdavote) did prove that Kutchi as a language carries unique potency of expression and appeal. Here is a couplet from Saint Mekan's poetry (1730 A. D.; A mystic poet of Kutchi) :

मुं भायो तड हिकड़ो
तड् लख हजार;
जुको जिता लंधे ओ,
ऊ ऊता थेओ पार.

Mu Bhayo Tad Hikdo
Tad Lakh Hajar,
Juko Jita Langeo
Oo uta theo paar.

(I thought there is only one path (to reach God) but I saw there are thousands (paths); By whatsoever path one crosses, He does reach.)

But it is Dulerai Karani (now 80 years) who has given the Kutchi language a new lease and new hope too. If we scan through his works (no less than 40 volumes) we are surprised to find that his works cover poetry, drama, folk tales, legends and proverbs, and no field of literature is untouched by him.

Efforts of Lalji Nanji Joshi (1882-1951 AD), an advocate by profession, are too histrionic. He prepared a Kutchi Pathmala also to serve as text-book. Kutchi is written in Gujarati script but he devised and published a script for Kutchi, in view of peculiar phonetics of this language. He further founded an institution named 'Dhananjay Ashram' for the study of this language. His literary works include an epic—"JHARE JO JUDDHH" (War on Jhara Hills)— which has been illustrated in the linguistic survey of India by Abraham Gearson (Vol. VIII). Maqbhool Kutchi's elementary grammar on Kutchi is also an unique effort to serve and enrich this language. Maqbhool Kutchi is now 80 and settled in Karachi. He is a poet of eminence in the field of Kutchi literature.

As early as in 1834, a chaplain (Rev. James Gray) at Bhuj, translated the gospel of Mathews in Kutchi and the same was published by Bible Society of Bombay. A Kutchi Kosha or dictionary of the Kutchi language has been published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society. Kutchi poems are reported to be included in great collection of Gujarati Poetry entitled 'BRAHAT KAVYA DOHAN'.

Shantilal Acharya has compiled a Kutchi Sabdavali under the guidance of an authority no less than the late Prabodh Pandit, a linguist of International repute. The book has been published by the Gujarat Vidyapith in 1962. In 1966, a young grammarian of Mandvi has prepared and published a Kutchi Grammar. This grammarian is none else but Prataprai Trivedi, whose recent work 'Kutchi Dhatu Kosa' (Verbal Lexicon of Kutchi) places him in the first rank of scholars in such fields.

Yet, Kutchi is merely a spoken language. Kutchis themselves speak kutchi in their conversation but use Gujarati in writing and in their personal correspondence. A husband writes letters to his wife in Gujarati: As such, will Kutchi as a language survive ? is the question often posed from some sceptic quarters.

Once I was chit chatting with my friend in a taxi-cab while going to Ghatkopar from Matunga. The cabman also joined in our conversation, in Kutchi. I asked him the village he hailed from, Smilingly, he burst, "I am a Keralite" : "how damn you can speak Kutchi with such native original accent ?" I asked. He understood my puzzle. He explaind that he was putting up in Mulund, amidst Kutchis all around him. In Bhat Bazar and Dana Bunder area of Bambay also many gadies (coolies) are found speaking Kutchi fluently. A young Marwari Executive in a big company greeted me in unmixed nativa Kutchi.

To Gujarati, Kutchi is as strange as Marathi or Hindi. Kutchi has close affinity with Sindhi. Both Kutchi and Sindhi are two divergent branches from their common origin 'Brachad Apabhransh'. But there is another surprise; Kutchi has substantial affininy with Punjabi too. The following comparative words will illustrate this :

Kutchi	Punjabi	English
Dhee	Dhee	Daughter
Khil	Khil	Smile
Niyapo	Niyapo	Message
Me	Me	Buffallo
Dhaga	Dhaga	Ox
Goth	Goth	Village

This leads to two reasons :

One : Most of the present oommunities of Kutch have migrated from Rajasthan via Sind to Kutch. Punjab has geographical ligaments with Rajasthan and cultural fusions with Sind.

Two : This second reason is too hasty but none-the-less important. Recent archeological excavations indicate that Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro civilizations remains have been found in all these three regions viz. Sind, Punjab and Kutch. Script of Harappa remains when deciphered will perhaps open up a newer perspective to researchers in the field of linguistic.

Will Kutchi survive ? Yes; it has survived so far. It has survived against all the odds. Well, it refuses to die.

S. C. Mukhopadhyay

The English Wars against Aurangzeb in Bengal (1686-1690)

The English traders in India found the Mughal Emperors—a hard nut to crack, and after many vicissitudes at last obtained the desired *Farman* from Shah Jahan, permitting them to trade in Bengal. This was the reward of the English surgeon, Gabriel Boughton, who rendered great services to the Company by curing the burned princess Jahanara. With this reward, the English traders went to Bengal, "The paradise of Nation", as they called it, faunded the factory at Hugli in 1650. Boughton soon became the favourite of Shah Shuja, the second son of the Emperor, who was then residing at Rajmahal. In 1651, the Hugli factory obtained a *nishan* from Shuja, by which the former agreed to pay a *peshkash* of three thousand rupees and were permitted to trade duty-free in Bengal.[1]

The Company's trade in Bengal began to prosper from this time and Hugli became the centre of their trade from where they despatched merchants to up countries. The factory at Kasimbazar was established before 1658 and Dacca in 1658. The English became once again interested at Patna. Hugli enjoyed the glory of the principal factory, while Kasimbazar, Patna, Dacca, Balasore and Malda were subordinates. The investment purchased was to consist chiefly of Silks of a fine quality, and Saltpetre.[2]

At this time when the Company seemed to enter on a new phase of prosperity in Bengal, there occurred a struggle among the sons of Shah Jahan. Mir Jumla, the general of Aurangzeb drove Shuja to his flight, occupied the viceroyalty of Bengal and transferred its capital to Dacca. A dispute soon arose between the Government of Mir Jumla and the English traders, on the refusal

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1. Firminger, W. K. : Fifth Report (Reprint, Calcutta, 1962) P. 67.
2. Beveridge, H. : A Comprehensive History of India, vol-I (Reprint, New-Delhi, 1974), P. 422.

of the payment of rupees three thousand by the latter. The English agent at Hugli, irritated beyond measure for the oppression, resolved to seize a country boat in the Ganges. The incensed *Subahdar* immediately demanded reparation and threatened to destroy the factories as well as to expel them from the *Subah.*[1] The agent now terrified at the result of his own boldness, sought advice from the President of Surat, who directed him to repair and deliver the boat. The Madras authorities also gave the same advice and thus the agent restored the boat and apologised to Mir Jumla. But though he was pardoned, the *Subahdar* continued to exact an annual payment of rupees three thousand from the English. During his wars against Shuja, Mir Jumla obtained the help of the Dutch but the English followed a policy of "wait and see". Thus the English trade came to a standstill position for the time. At last by arbitration, Mir Jumla granted the English agent a *parwana,* on 9th February 1660, confirming the privileges granted to them by Shah Jahan and Shah Shuja.[2]

In 1664, after the death of Mir Jumla, the government of Bengal was conferred on Shaista Khan, the son of the *wazir,* Ashaf Jah and the nephew of the Empress Nur Jahan. He governed Bengal with prudence and vigour up to 1677, when his first viceroyalty ended at his own request and he was transferred to Agra. During his government, the commerce of the English in Bengal continued to flourish as they deputed commercial agents at Patna, Kasimbazar and Dacca. Their exportation of Saltpetre alone, within some years, amounted to one thousand tons. He allowed the English vessels to sail up the Ganges which was not permitted before. The Company was also permitted to form a regular establishment of pilots in 1669 for conducting their ships on the river. In 1672, he also granted them freedom from trade throughout the *Subah,* without payment of duties.[3]

Although so much liberty, favour and protection was granted to the English, the Mughal Government was still jealous and watchful in preventing the establishment of any military power of them in our country. The chief factory at Hugli was constructed under the supervision of the Mughal officials and utmost vigilance was exercised to prevent the erection of any building of defence The tendency of the Mughal officers under Aurangzeb was to deal with the English as infidels. Therefore they were also subjected to the infliction of *Jiziya* or polltax like the Hindus. At Surat, the English Company paid a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on

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1. Sarkar, J. N. (Edt.) : The History of Bengal (Reprint, Patna 1973). P. 344,
2. Ibid, P. 345.
3. Stewart : The History of Bengal (Reprint, Delhi, 1971), PP. 300-301.

its goods and thus a similar duty was also claimed in Bengal.[1] Thus the Company's agents complained that Shaista Khan frequently stopped this trade, seized upon their Saltpetre and that instead of an annual present of three thousand rupees settled in 1658, he compelled the English soldiers to attend him in his war against Arakan, and that the Mughal officials were guilty of a thousand exactions. Thus the Governor of Madras wrote to Shaista Khan on May 7, 1677, that if the English were not better treated they would certainly withdraw from Bengal.[2]

On the resignation of Shaista Khan, Fedai Khan was appointed *Subahdar* of Bengal in 1677. But Fedai Khan died within a short time and Prince Muhammad Azam, third son of Aurangzeb assumed the charge of Bengal. He arrived at Dacca on 30th June, 1678. Prince Azam was received by the English factors at Dacca in the most gracious manner. He requested to assist them for the management of artillery, but when the English pleaded their inability, the *Subahdar* did not enforce his demand. As Azam was in want of money, he accepted a sum of rupees 21,000 from them, for which he granted *nishan* to the English, for a free trade, without payment of any duties.[3] But Prince Azam was soon recalled to Delhi and Shaista Khan was reappointed to the government of Bengal for the second time (Oct. 1679-June 1688)[4], who arrived at Dacca in October, 1679.

The subordination of Bengal to Madras soon found inconvenient in a mercantile point of view. All goods from Bengal were sent to Madras for transmission to England. Thus it was suggested that all future consignments should be sent direct from Bengal to England. The establishment of Bengal trade in 1675, by the orders of the Court of Directors, placed on the same footing as Surat and Madras and similar gradations of rank was fixed for all the Company's servants.[5]

During the first exit of *Subahdarship* of Shaista Khan from Bengal, the English traders obtained an opportunity to send an agent to the court of Aurangzeb. The English Company found it troublesome and expensive to procure a fresh order for freedom of trade from every succeeding *Subahdar* and thus they solicitated an Imperial *Farman* to settle their business for ever. The agent, after much trouble, succeeded in procuring the Emperor's order and he returned to Hugli on 8th July, 1680. The English factors, made a display of this success, received the *farman* with much ceremony, saluted with three hundred guns from the factory and the ships anchored opposite the town.[1]

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[1] Two per cent general customs like the muslims and Hindus-& $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as the *Jiziya* or Infidel-Tax to non-muslims-Elphinstone, M : The Rise of the British Power in the East. (London, 1887), P. 56.

[2] Stewart : PP. 301-302.

[3] Ibid, : P. 303.

[4] Ibid, : P. 307.

[5] Broome, A : History of the Rise & Progress of the Bengal Army. vol-I (London, 1850), pp. 7–8.

The English had indeed secured a *farman* but this document of 1680, read in two different ways. The privilage was represented by concession of the right to trade duty-free in consideration of the payment of an annual sum of rupees three thousand .The English thus became a humble servents of a trading Company. For freedom and protection of their commerce, they relied on the good-will of the 'country-powers". The *farmans* and *parwanas* were regarded by them as definite concessions of legal rights and they did not naturally forego their rights formally conceded to them. They gradually realised the necessity of protecting their commerce, not only from the hands of Mughal officials, but also from interlopers and thus when the necessity of establishing a fortress came to be realised, the history of the English Company in Bengal passed into its second phase.[2]

The great increase of the Bengal investments induced the Company to appoint William Hedges, one of their Directors, as the agent or Governor, of all their affairs in the Bay of Bengal and all other factories under it. His residence was fixed at Hugli. This was the first military establishment of the Company in Bengal. But as the Imperial *Farman* was purposely drawn out in a vague style, it soon gave rise to disputes and difficulties.[3]

Hedges arrived at Hugli, soon found the trade brought to a standstill by the lawlessness and greed of the Mughal officials. The new governor came to his task with a belief of his own superior position of negotiation. In October, 1682, finding the several affronts, insolences and abuses daily put upon the English became intolerable. Hedges resolved to proceed to Dacca to lay a complaint before Shaista Khan. But though the local revenue officer, Parameswar Das allowed the governor and his escort to sail, secretly despatched armed parties to seize the fleet. After spending five days in humiliating disputes, Hedges proceeded to Dacca. He spent six weeks there but nothing resulted from his mission. Shaista Khan merely promised that he would request the Emperor to give the English a *farman,* but the local officials at Hugli continued to stop the Company's boats and seized their goods.[14] Hedges gave a graphic description of his negotiation with Shaista Khan in his diary : "My going to Dacca has in the first place got 7 months time for procuring a *phirmaund*; 2ndly, taken off wholly ye pretence of 5 percent custom on all treasure imported this and ye three preceeding years, besides $1\frac{1}{2}$ perecnt of what was usually paid, at ye mint for sometime past; 3rdly, procured ye gernal stop to be taken off all our trade, our goods now passing as freely as ever they did formerly, ... and last, prevailed upon ye *Nabab* to undertake ye procuring a *phirmaund* for us from ye king ... ... I bless God for this great success I have had, beyond all men's expectations, in my voyage to Dacca."[1] Hedges elated with his supposed successes, but it soon proved a mere illusion. Having thrown the Company's establishment in confusion, he was soon dismissed from his office on July 17, 1684.

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[1] Stewart : pp. 308—309.

[2] Fifth Report, P. 72.

[3] Stewart : p 309. Also Sarkar's Bengal, p. 383.

The affairs of the Company also became much disturbed for several years by the interference of other British subjects. Thus the Governor of Hugli, Gyfford, made an application in 1685 to Shaista Khan for permitting to erect a fortification on the banks of the Ganges,-to prevent the ships of those persons, whom they called interlopers, from entering the river and for their better protection. But Shaista Khan was an experience statesman, who did not trust the foreigners with such power. Gyfford had a corporal guard of two hundred and fifty. Besides the English wanted some stations in Bengal for fortification.[2] So the *Subahdar* not only refused the request, but insisted on the English of paying $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent duties upon all their imports, instead of an annual sum of rupees three thousand which they used to pay. The situation was further aggravated by the oppressions of the *faujdar* of Kasimbazar which brought a dispute between the Governor and the English. It injured the trade of the English and their ships were obliged to leave Bengal without obtaining cargoes. The disputes with the English traders in Bengal had been reported by Shaista Khan to Aurangzeb in such a light that the latter became irritated against the English.[3] Thus the minds of the each party were exasperated and there seemed no remedy for the English-either to leave the trade of Bengal altogether, or to recourse to arms; to effect by force what they could not obtain by appeasement.

The English traders lost all patience with the Mughal Government. The Company in England also realised the futility of their past confidence in relying on the *farmans*. Some years past, Hedges suggested to them that a quarrel with the Mughal authorities in Bengal was inevitable. The plan of war against the Mughal authorities in Bengal did not work on suddenly but early in December

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1. Sarkar's Bengal. pp. 383-384.
2. The Diary of William Hedgas, 1887, vol-I. p. 62
3. Stewart : P. 311.

1683, the Court stated that "some of our Captains tell us there is no way to mend our condition but by seizing and fortifying one of these pleasant Islands in the Ganges," but "some others have pronounced to us the seizure upon a Toune called Chittagong in the easternmost mouth of the River Ganges, upon or near the coast of Rackan (Arakan)". They determined to send an expedition to capture Chittagong. The Court wrote : "But you must always understand that though we prepared for and resolve to enter into a war with ye Mogull our ultimate end is peace,......but either to desert our trade or we must draw the Sword, His Majesty hath Instructed us with to vindicate the Rights and Honour of the English nation in India.'"[1]

The East India Company censured their agent in Bengal for adopting too submissive an attitude to the despot. A few years later, the Court had developed a military spirit and in 1686, the Directors obtained permission from James II to retaliate their injuries by hostilities against Shaista Khan and Aurangzeb. The Governor of Bombay was ordered to direct his ships to Bengal. The chiefs of factories in Bengal were to retire to Balasore. It was presumed that as the *Subahdar* of Bengal would probably make no reply of an ultimatum, the troops were to take possession of the town, fort and factory of Chittagong by force of arms, and 'Our Lieutenant Colonel Job Charnock was thereupon to be installed as Governor of our Fort, Town and Territory of Chittagong."[2]

Job charnock had already succeeded as the chief agent at Hugli in August 1685. At the time of his departure from Kasimbazar, he posted guards round his house, because he had fought against the corrupt practices of the Mughals. He reached Hugli in April 1686. The Court of Directors had already sent their decision of war, on 27th January 1686, to the President and council of Fort St. George : "You must not forget to send to Bengal some of the books of military discipline and Martial Law."[3]

The Squadron sent out from England under the command of Captain Nicholson, consisted of ten ships, each with its company of soldiers, aggregating a thousand men. The fleet, delayed by storms and other difficulties, only three could reach the Bay. *The Beaufort*—commanded by Captain John Nicholson with 70 guns and 300 seamen, *The Nathaniel*—commanded by Captain Mason with 50 guns and 150 seamen and *The Rochester* with 12 guns and 20 seamen reached the coastland of India. The Company's officials in India also could supply a number of vessels for the purpose of river conflict. In addition, the Company had already at Hugli, a band of fighting men, native Christians and half-caste Portuguese, known as *topasses*, Rajputs and native peons.[1]

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[1] Forrest, G: The Life of Lord Clive, vol-I (Lond. 1918), p. p. 181.

[2] Fifth Report, PP, 73-74.

[3] Forrest, opp. cit. P. 281.

Captain Nicholson was instructed at first to proceed to Balasore, and after bringing the Company's officials from there, he was to continue his voyage to Chittagong. In order to facilitate the enterprise, the Captain was directed to enter into a treaty of alliance with the king of Arakan, who was supposed to co-operate with the English. Nicholson was further instructed to enter into terms with the Hindu chiefs and zamindars, to establish a mint, to collect revenue and to render Chittagong a place of arms for the English on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. Bnt instead of proceeding to Chittagong, he entered on the western side of the Ganges and reached at Hugli. He was joined by 400 soldiers sent from Madras and Charnock was directed to raise a second company of Portuguese infantry.[2]

The arrival of English forces in the Ganges immediately roused the suspicion and anger of Shaista Khan. He wanted to compromise the differences with the English and to submit their disputes to arbitrators on both sides. But actually the *Subahdar* wanted to gain time, as he ordered a considerable body of troops to encamp in the vicinity of Hugli, in order to be prepared againt any act of hostility. But the hostilities could not be avoided, and were brought on, in a premature manner.[3]

When feelings ran high on both sides, it was inflamed to precipitate war for a small incident. On 28th October 1686, three English soldiers who went to the *bazar* of Hugli for making purchases, were attacked and wounded. The English captain tried to rescue them, but he was stopped and the Mughal *faujdar* Abdul Ghani burnt down some huts surrounding the English factory. He also opened fire on the English ships, so the English advanced with much courage and burnt some of the portions of the town. Their ships also continued the work by bomberding the town. Early in the morning the *faujdar* fled away in disguise and sought the mediation of the Dutch at Chinsurah and opened negotiations with the English. But it was a trick for gaining reinforcement. The English began to pack up their stores and prepared for evacuating Hugli. Shaista Khan, on hearing the sack of Hugli, sent detachments of cavalry and ordered the English to be seized. On 20th

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1. Fifth Report, P. 74
2. Stewart : PP. 312-314.
3. Ibid., P. 314.

December, the English left Hugli altogether and fled away to a village called Sutanuti, from where Job Charnock continued the negotiations.[1]

In February 1687, Shaista Khan threw off the mask and threatened the English with expulsion from Bengal. Information was also received by Charnock, that Abdus Samad Khan, the general of the troops, had arrived at Hugli with a very large force and they intended to surround and destroy the British at Sutanuti. Under these circumstances, Charnock thought it imprudent to remain any longer at Sutanuti and moved with his whole establishment to Hijli.[2] On his way to Hijli, where the English established themselves with men and guns, they captured the imperial fort of Thana. In March, a detachment of 170 English soldiers landed at Balasore, captured the Mughal fort and burnt the town.

In May 1687, Abdus Samad persuaded the English to Hijli with 12,000 men to expel them from there. His heavy battaries opened fire across the Rasulpur river and drove the English troops from there. Abdus Samad was reinforced by 700 Mughal cavalry and 200 guns and thus they appeared before Hijli, seized the town and set it on fire.[3] But the condition of the English was already pitiable at Hijli, as it was the most unhealthy place and within three months, more than half of the English troops had died: two hundred had died of malaria and only a hundred men weakened by fever survived, were only fit subjects for a hospital.[4] On 11th June the English evacuated Hijli, carrying away all their artillery and munitions. At this critical period, overtures were made to Charnock by Shaista Khan, which the former gladly accepted. An armistice was concluded between them and a treaty was signed on 16th August 1687, by which it was agreed that the English would be permitted to return to all their factories in the *Subah*, that the duty of 3½ percent would be remitted and that they would have a tract of land at Ulluberia on the right bank of the Hugli river, with permission to erect fortifications and to construct dock for their shipping.[5]

In accordance with the treaty, Charnock, not wishing to return to Hugli without the ships of war, hastened to Ulluberia, where they commenced making docks for their ships that were greatly in want of repair; but after residing there for three or four months, the locality was not found convenient to the English as

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[7] Sarkar's Bengal PP. 384-385.

[2] Broome's Army, P. 17.

[3] Sarkar's Bengal P. 385

[4] Ibid. Stewart, P. 317

[5] Broome's Army, P. 18. Stewart, P. 318.

was anticipated; Charnock applied for and obtained permission to return to Sutanuti.[1]

When the total failure of the expedition and disastrous consequences reached England, the Court, became much dissatisfied with the conduct of their servants abroad, threw the whole blame on them. The Company's officials in Beggal were censured for their timid policy, charged with persuading their own selfish aims, regardless of the honour and interest of the king and the Company. They threatened them with expulsion from their service, if the desired object of the war would not be accomplished. Even after its defeat, the Company was not willing to abandon its objects and thus they despatched a large ship for their "defence". under the command of Captain Heath, and a small frigate, fully armed, carrying a reinforcement of 160 soldiers. They intimated their determination that "unless a fortification and a district around it should be ceded, to be held as an independent sovereignty,……and permission to coin money in Bengal, to pass current in the Maghul's and *nabo's* dominions, be granted, they would not consent to a Peace, or send any more stock or goods to the Ganges."[2] This boasting character of the Directors was ludicrous, when one sees the actual position of affairs. It only proclaimed the ignorance and folly of its members to whom the home management had been entrusted.

When this intelligence reached Shaista Khan, he adopted his oppressive methods on the agents of the Company. He ordered them to return at Hugli and not to erect a stone or a brick at Sutanuti. His troops were also permitted to plunder freely the property of the English and demanded from Charnock, a large sum of money, as a compensation for the damage done during the last war. Charnock was neither in a condition to oppose him by arms, nor to appease him by money. He sent two members of his council to Dacca, who were directed to represent the *Subahdar,* their object of settling at Sutanuti, just to avoid the frequent dispute with the Mughal officials at Hugli. They requested permission to remain at Sutanuti and to be allowed to purchase lands from the zamindars for the establishment of their factory. Such was the condition of the English in October 1688, when Captain Heath arrived with his reinforcements and immediately resolved to recommence the war.[3]

Their new agent, the naval Captain Heath, who had superceded Charnock, landed with his party at Balasore on 29th November, attacked and plundred the town. After the plunder, Heath sailed with his fleet, on 13th December, for

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1. Ibid, P. 19.
2. Beveridge's History. PP. 430-431.
3. Stewart, P. 319.

Chittagong, where they arrived on 17th of January 1689. He intimated to the acting *Subahdar* of Bengal, Bahadur Khan, who succeeded Shaista Khan, that the English had come according to an agreement with the Mughals to assist them to reduce the king of Arakan. It was nothing but a trick for an attack on Chittagong. Heath then sailed off to offer his services to the king of Arakan where he arrived on 31st of January and sent proposals to the king, offering to co-operate with him against the Mughals provided he would grant the English a settlement in his dominions.[1] The king of Arakan now saw no need of the English help, did not give any reply and after remaining a fortnight, Heath suddenly became disgusted against his new ally, set sail for Madras and arrived there on 4th March, where he apologised to the Governor for his recent conduct.[2] Charnock and his council were carried from Bengal to Madras after sometime.

As the English had completely set at defiance the authority of the Emperor, Aurangzeb, who had captured a number of emperor's ships and tried to make a conspiracy against him with the ruler of Arakan, it was not unjustified that the haughty mind of the emperor was much incensed against them. He, in consequence, issued orders to expel the English from his dominions, to seize and destroy their factory wherever it might be found. Thus, the temporary *Subahdar,* Bahadur Khan, committed great severity and oppression against the English.[3]

After the resignation of Shaista Khan and the temporary charge on Bahadur Khan, Ibrahim Khan was appointed as the permanent *Subahdar* who reached Bengal in July 1689. He was already a weak old man. He administered justice with impartiality and encouraged agriculture and commerce, but he had no military skill. The English called him the most famously just and good *nawab*.[4] It was on the request of Ibrahim Khan that the Emperor realised the profit of the English trade in Bengal. It was understood that the British commerce was productive of gains which the Imperial Treasury could not forego. The Emperor was sensible enough to realise that he derived a considerable aid to his revenue by the commerce of the English. Thus, when two English commissioners were sent from Bombay by Sir John Child to solicit peace, the Emperor authorised his ministers to form a treaty with the envoys.[5] At the same time he directed Ibrahim Khan to invite

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1. Stewart, P. 321.
2. Ibid, P. 322. Fifth Report, P. 76.
3. Ibid, PP. 322-323.
4. Sarkar's Bengal, P. 392.
5. Stewart. P. 325.

the English to return to Bengal. The Emperor also informed him that he had been pleased to pardon the "irregularities" of the English.[1]

Ibrahim Khan immediately released the English merchants who had been imprisoned at Dacca. The Emperor wrote him on 23rd April, 1690 : "you must understand, that it has been the good fortune of the Fnglish to repent them of their irregular past proceedings : and their not being in their former greatness, have, by the *vackeels*, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted : Therefore, upon receipt thereof, my *phirmaund*, you must not create them any further trouble. but let them trade freely in your government as formerly : And this order I expect you see strictly observed."[2]

In consequence of this letter, the *Subahdar* wrote a letter to Charnock at Madras to return and re-establish their factories in Bengal. But as Charnock was aware of Bengal politics, he replied that the English would not agree to the proposal, unless the Emperor would grant to the Company a definite *farman* for Bengal, stating the terms upon which they could carry on their future trade. Thus a second letter was written by Ibrahim Khan that he had made an application to the Emperor for the desired *farman*, but as several months would pass to obtain it, charnock might return in the meanwhile and in that case the *Subahdar* assured his friendship and protection. In consequence of this invitation, Charnock, with his council, attended by an escort of some soldiers, returned to Sutanuri on 25th August and was well received by the Mughal officials of Hugli.[3] On 10th February 1691, a ***hasb-ul-hukm***, was issued by Asad Khan—the *wazir*, allowing the English to trade in Bengal on payment of an annual sum of rupees three thousand in lieu of all dues.[4] Thus the English resumed their settlement in Bengal and their trade began to prosper in and around Sutanuti.

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[1] Fifth Report, P. 76

[2] Stewar , Appen-VI, PP. 54-541.

[3] Stewart, PP. 325-326.

[4] Ibid, P. 326. Sarkar's Bengal, P, 392.

R. N. Mukerji

Bindu and Tantric Iconography

III

Psychological and Metaphysical Meanings of the Five Indras of Mahābhārata

Psychologically, the flower flowing downstream stands for the smear. Ovulation was referred as flowering and Ṣoḍaśī was praised as either the first to ovulate or as at the age of first ovulation, with a red smear on Her blue garment, as red lotus would be in the blue waters of the river. The symbolism might also be derived from the morning sun in blue sky.[1]

Led by it, the sense (*Indriya* of touch-for Indra) of the *bindu* is led to the source, to get attached to the uterus (cave) for birth with five senses turned outwards.[2] On the way the sperm would be petrified and dead, but for the timely contact with the ovum.

The metaphysical meaning is that all the senses centre on sex, and sex is not the cause of bondage, it is the narrow ego. When instead of the narrow individual ego, there is identification with Śiva, the Supreme Ego—*Param Ahaṁtā*, sex is a means for liberation.

The method of identification of the senses generally and sex particularly with one spirit, is through universalization (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*), rationalizing, and spiritualizing. How this is to be done is clearly shown in the first five cantos of *Kumārasaṁbhava*. The union did not come through external charms, but by penance, love and devotion. Pārvatī, in the process, even came to disparage her matchless physical beauty, and said that the union with the beloved is real beauty.[3] Even when at last Śiva appeared to receive her, she said that her father was her dispenser. In *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* it is said that even in their union Śiva and Pārvatī vied with each other to hold the *bindu* and *raja* for one hundred years to the despair of the heavenly gods.[4]

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[1] स्मरेत् प्रथमपुष्पिणीं रुधिरबिन्दुनीलाम्बरां । *Tripurasundarīstotra*, 6

[2] The whole episode seems to indicate *Kaṭha* Up. II, पराञ्चिखानि व्यतृणात स्वयम्भू ।

[3] निनिन्द रूपं हृदयेन पार्वती प्रियेषु सौभाग्यफलां हि चारुता । V, 1

[4] *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, I, 228, 2,3.

What was the point of reversal of roles in *vajrolī*? It was an imitation of the other partner, which is called *Līlā* in texts like *Nāṭya Śastra.*[1] In it the lovers put on the dress and appearance of the other. There are many Rajasthani paintings on the subject, usually associated with Kṛṣṇa-līlā. The aim in *vajrolī* is to fully identify with the partner, instead of concentrating on self-gratification. In the process each projects his own feelings as of the other, and takes the partner's feelings as his own for ultinatel realiging the primordial sexualstate in bindu. Thus it is an attempt to relationalize the strongly personal feeling of sex with universalization, as found in visual and audible arts like drama, for ultimate realizing the promordial **a**-sexual state in bindu. This universalization of the sexual experience has a very special significance on two counts.

1. The physical union becomes a transparent medium for realizing spiritual unity of all beings i.e. the *bindu* from which the two sexes parted according to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3,

> *"Alone He (Supreme Ego) did not (could not) enjoy love-dalliance, and so He wanted a second. So He became like a man and a woman in embrace. It fell into this duality, becoming pati and patnī (husband and wife, alsa meaning fallen). So He was like a cotyledon, the vacant pertion wherein was filled by woman. From this men were born."*[2]

Their union in the bindu is stated in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV, 3, 21

> *"Just as a man embraced by his dear wife does not feel anything internal or external (in union), so a person when embraced by his own conscious soul, feels nothing of nternal or external, having all desires fulfilled,"*[3]

2. Sex itself is a rationalization of the touch sensation, and all other sense-modalities are ultimately derived from touch. Hence rationalization of sexual experience would transform all other sensations in a direction capable of direct grasp of truth.

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[1] वागङ्गालङ्कारैः शिष्टैः प्रीतिप्रयोजितैर्मधुरैः ।
इष्टजनस्यानुकृतिलीला ज्ञेया प्रयोगज्ञैः ॥
Nāṭyaśāstra (Oriental Institue Baroda, 1954), cd. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, vol. Vol. III, Ch. 22, 18.

[2] स वै नैव रेमे तस्मादेकाकी न रमते स द्वितीयमैच्छत् । स हैतावानास यथा स्त्रो पुमासौ सम्परिष्वक्तौ स इममे वात्मानं द्वेधापायत्ततः पतिच्च पत्नी चाभवतां तस्मादिदर्धवृगलामिव स्व तस्मादेयमाकाशः स्त्रिया पूर्यत एव तां समभवत्ततो मनुष्या अजायन्त ।

[3] तद् यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरमेवमेवायं पुरुषः प्राज्ञेनात्मना सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरं

The general sense of rationalization of the sense of sound can be seen in its organization in terms of rhythm, melody, harmony, stucture etc. in music, and similar process in prose and poetry. Similar organization of the other senses will easily come to the mind. In the case of colours, the seven colours of the rainbow and any two complementary colours neutralize one another to give white. This provides a basis for their ready rational organisation. The above process of neutralization of colours clearly rose so as to keep sunlight white and constant, so that visual perception may not be too rich and dazzling. It may be similarly the tastes are neutralized in the taste of water, and the smells in that of air, and the sounds in the unstruck (*anāhata*) sound of *Oṃkāra.* It would be worthwhile to carry out extensive investigation along these lines for the adequate organization of these fields. We shall consider this matter in greater detail in the sequel.

Lessons

Certain useful guidelines can be obtained from the above considerations. In *Vajrolī* the following three stages might be distinguished :

1. *Vajrolī* 1, in which only the *bindu* is retained.
2. *Vajrolī* 2, in which either the *bindu* is retained and the *raja* is drawn in or both *bindu* and *raja* are drawn in.
3. *Vajrolī - Yantra* in which the above first or second stage is associated with votive *yantra.*

As we find in *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* these practices are best confined between married partners. If a young man could find a partner with the qualifications mentioned earlier, he could have her as a domestic teacher of *Advaita* in two ways, as impersonal Supreme Consciousness, and as obtained in children when so desired. Even otherwise the training in *vajroli* would be very useful for family planning, and should be taught to all married couples in over-populated regions, when education ceases to be the haphazard drift that it is at present. Such a scheme has scriptural support also, because the burden of the whole of *Mahābhārata* is birth-control or death. And even in ordinary run of sex manuals, with nothing except trivial platitudes, it is mentioned that without some restraint of the *bindu*, women are left dissatisfied, frustrated, and frigid. It would also be worth investigating whether there is factor of general retentivity, so that practice of *kumbhaka* and *vajrolī* would also increase memory and mental grasp.

In the above account certain points require clarification. The five Indras of *Mahābhārata* legend have been taken as the five senses, because the senses are called *Indriyās*, each sence-organ being taken as an Indra over the domain of sensation of that particular sense modality. For instance, in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Indra is said to reside in the right eye, and his wife (for co-operation) in the left eye. Also according *Ṛg Veda*, to *'Indra Indriyai'* etc., senses are regulated by Indra.[1]

Here and earlier also (part I, p. 9) it has been seen that the word *bindu* is used of the ultimate spiritual point, and also for semen among other things, Semen, as life-producing, has something of the generative capacity of Brahman, as stated in *'janmādasya yataḥ'*. Hence in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* it is called Brāhman.[2] But it is not the gross object that is Brahman, it is the spark of life animating every individual spermetazoon in it that is so called, like the infinitesimal spark in a banyana seed, so described in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.[3]

In *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, in relating what happens to the soul on death, Yama tells that some get into the genital for a body, and others become immovable trees etc. according to their deeds, and knowledge. This person who keeps awake even in deep sleep, and by its desires (or lust) creates (in dreams) is the semen (*śukra*) and Brahman, and called immortal.[4] The word *'śukra'* is used in the same context in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[5] where the projected dreams are given as of travelling in a chariot, rivers, ponds etc., dalliance with women, laughter with friends, and scenes that frighten. Thus it was realized that the semen can induce amorous dreams for its purpose of providing earthly continuity through progeny. But here as in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, it is the conscious spark in it that is regarded as *bindu*.

The five gods supporting the throne of the Goddess, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, and Sadāśiva, are respectively the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the world, and objective and subjective aspects of world-consciousness. Paramaśiva is

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1. IV, *Br. U.* 2, 2-3. *Ṛg Veda*, I, 107, 2, Also. इन्द्रियाणि शतक्रतो या ते जनेषु पच्चसु । इन्द्र तानि त आ वृणे ।II, 3,7,9.

2. *Brahma-Sūtra*. 2. See under f.n. 4 *infra*. for the reference in *Kaṭha Up.*

3. स य एषोऽणिमैतदात्म्यमिदंसर्वं तत्सत्यं स आत्मा तत्त्वमसि श्वेतकेतो ··· ·–

Chān Up., VI, 12, 3.

Also see author's article *Future Course of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 80-82, in *Ānvikṣikī*

4. योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः ।
स्थाणुमन्येऽनुसंयन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रुतम् ।
य एव सुप्तेषु जागर्ति कामं कामं पुरुषो निर्मिमाणः ।
तदेव शुक्रं तद्ब्रह्म तदेवामृतमुच्यते ॥

Kaṭh Up. II, 2, 7-8.

5. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 3, 10-13, specially II.

the *bindu* synthesizing the last two in Parā or Pnrāvāk wherein the subjective and the objective aspects are merged into one in the *bindu.* Hence He is in *sāmarasya* with Śakti Tripurasundarī. Of the five gods the first three correspond to *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā*, and *Raudrī* of *Kāmakalā.* The last two are like two *bindus* facing each other, and hence as *Visarga* (as we have taken *ardhahakāra* to be). Thus these two *bindus* merge in the third *bindu* above coach in the union of Śiva and Śakti.

These facts are mentioned in *Devī Bhāgavata* in connection with Bhuvaneśvarī, another closely connected form of the Goddess; thus—Gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva visited Her in the Jewel Island (*Maṇi Dvīpa*), and saw Her seated on Śiva as her coach, which had rainbow hues. A Similar account of Ṣoḍaśī, with, Paranmaśiva as coach, supported by Śivas is give in *Ānandalaharī*,[1] There the birds sang *Hrīṁ* (ह्रीं) which is the *mantra* of the Goddess.[2] As the three gods approached Her. they were turned into females at Her glance.[3] This implies that they discover themselves to be nothing but Śakti, being powerless to effect anything without Her They also tell it themselves in their hymns of praises addressed to Her. That is also why they are referred to as *pretas* or corpses, under Her. They are corpses also in the sense that as presiding deities of the different bodily yogic centres, from *Mūlādhāra* to *Viśuddhi*, thay are practically lifeless and dormant till the *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* awakens and, through them, makes its journey to meet Her Lord in the brain centre.

In this latter sense, the five gods supporting the throne are associated with the lower *yogic* centres of the body. Thus Brahmā, in association with the element of earth, resides in the basal centre of *Mūlādhāra.* Viṣṇu, in association with water, resides in *Maṇipūraka.* Rudra, in association with fire, at *Svādhiṣṭhāna.* Īsvara, in association with air (*vāyu*), is at the *Anāhata* centre at the heart. Sadāśiva, in association with *ākāśa*, is at the *Viśuddhi* centre in the throat. The *Kuṇḍalinī Śakti* has to transcend all these centres to find union with Śiva in the higher centres of *Ajñā* and thousand-petalled *Sahaśrāra.*[4]

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[1] ……………………………………… तस्मिन्द्वीपे शिवाकारः पर्यङ्कः सुमनोहरः ।
…. …. …. …. …. … … … … … …. … …. … …. … …. …
नानास्तरसंछन्न इन्द्रचापसमन्वितः । पर्यङ्कपरे कांता विद्युत्कोटिसन प्रभा ।
Devī Bhāgavata, III, 3, 38, 37.
मणिद्वीपे…शिवाकार मञ्चे परमशिवपर्यङ्कनिलयां ĀL, 8.

[2] हृल्लेखदर्पणे नित्यमहं तत्प्रतिबिंबिता ।
तस्याद्धृल्लेखया दत्तं सर्वंमन्त्रैः समर्पितम् ॥

[3] द्वारस्थान्वीक्ष्य तान्सर्वानदेवी भगवती तदाः ।
स्मितं कृत्वा चकाराशुतांस्त्रीन्स्त्रीरूपधारिणः ॥ *Devi Bhāgavata*, III, 4, 6.

[4] महीं मूलाधारे कमपि मणिपूरे हुतवहं स्थितं स्वाधिष्ठाने हृदि मरुताकाशमुपरि !
मनोऽपि भ्रूमध्ये सकलमपि भित्त्वा कुलपथं सहस्रारे पद्मे सह रहसि पत्या विहरसे ।
ĀL, 9.

The five-pointed throne, together with five (according to another version four with one implicit) male gods to support it, represent in relief the subject of *Śrī Cakra*. In this the Goddess sitting on Paramaśiva is the innermost red *Bindu* in the white inverted triangle in the *yantra*.

Iconographic Details

Usually red and resplendent in colour, She is sometimes also described as *śyāmā*, which can mean anything from dark to golden, sometimes as yellow with yellow dress. Her feet have the marks of sudarśana, lotus, goad and flag. She has a formlike Sarasvatī as already mentioned. She is said in *Tripurasundarī-Stotra* to have been at Purandarapura, as a learned companion of ladies (*saurindhrī*).

Contd........

Vijai Govind

Some Aspects of Medical Sciences as Gleaned from the Graco-Roman Sources

ABSTRACT

Hitherto, the systematic studies relating to the history of Indian Medicine as gleaned from the Graco-Roman sources, has remained, indeed a terra incognito. Inspite of the fragmentary nature of the Graco-Roman Sources, however, an attempt has been made in the present paper to scrutinise these sources minutely with the view to highlight some aspects of ancient Indian medicine, duly corroborated by the anterior ancient Indian and Greek literary sources i. e., Vedic literature; the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*; *Caraka Saṃhitā*, *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, the *Hastyāyurveda of Muni Pālakāpya*, Dioskoride's '*Materia Medica*', Celsus, and Hippocratic texts. Among the Graco-Roman sources, the following deserves special mention-Herodotus (C. 484-431 B. C.); Megasthenese (C. 302-288 B. C.); Strabo (first Century B. C.); Curtius (C. 41-54 A. D.); Pliny (C. 23-79 A. D.), Diodorus Siculus (second half of the first Century A. D.); Apollonius (first Century A. D.); Periplus (first Century A. D.) etc. Thus, after piecing together the scattered Graco-Roman Sources, duly authenticated by the Indian sources, it can be noticed that the several disciplines of the Medical Sciences were known and practised in India with considerable skill and efficiency. Notable among them were the science of surgery, cure from the different diseases; the science of midwifery; medico-botanical Science; medico-anthropological implications; and lastly the medico-Biochemistry.

Since the early cradles of civilization, several scientific disciplines were known and practised extensively in India under the nomenclature of '*Veda*', '*Vidyā*' or '*Śāstras*.[1] The Indian medicine or the science of healing art, popularly known as *Āyurveda* (science of life) or *'Vaidyak Śāstra* (Science of medicine and Surgery) had already attained a high watermark progress, several centuries before the advent of Greeks in India. With the depredations of Alexander, the Great in 327 B. C., there heralded an epoch of mutual blending of two rich cultures, which provided a stimuli to the reciprocal diffusion and transmission of Scientific disciplines. McCrindle[1] remarked that *"the Great conqueror's expedition was not entirely military, it was also partly scientific and made vast additions to the sum total of human knowledge."* The Greeks left far reaching impact on India on the different branches of science and technology, other than the medical sciences. In the realm of medicine, the Indian impact upon the Greek medicine is most predominant.

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[1] *Upaniṣad's* refers to *Bhūti Vidyā* (Science of elements); *Nakṣatra Vidyā* (Science of Astronomy); *Sarpa-Vidyā* (Science of Snakes), besides other *vidyās* and *śāstras*. Even, the *Vāstu Śāstra* (Science of architecture); *Jyotiṣa Śāstra* (science of astrology) and *Āyurveda* (Science of medicine) were known and practiced since

Nature of Sources—

The available Graco-Roman sources though often discredited with lesser historiography, exaggerated encomium and fanaticism, yet, Dr. R. C. Majumdar[2] holds, that, *"no better specimen of account than these of classical writers (Graco-Roman Sources) have reached us. They are very best that we yet know of"* and *"they have formed* a *very valuable sources of information"*. Dr. Subba Reddy[3] rightly observed that, *"in persuing these fragmentary extracts one has always to bear* in mind that we are not reading the original descriptions in the complete works but only some of the epitomes and a few particular fragments must have survived in the wreck of time. Most of the Greeks were either sojourns or visitors and could not have had thorough acquaintance with the indigenous art and sciences, kept as closely guarded secrets by intellectual groups or certain families. Even when the Greeks had better knowledge of the language and the country, their vision would be limited to cities and the royal courts. The real India, the rural India and the ordinary classes with their beliefs and their common practices etc. could not easily come to their notice. It is easy to understand how fragmentary and necessarily incomplete will be the picture of Indian medicine *that we get from the*

Vedic times. See Acharya, P. K. (1952)— Glories of India, Allahabad, p. 252; Majumdar, R. C., Raychaudhury and Datta K. (1958)—An Advanced History of India, p. 58.

[1] McCrindle, J. W. (1901) —Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, Westminister, p. XIV.

[2] Majumdar, R. C. (1960)—The Classical Accounts of India, Calcutta, 1960, pp. XI, XXVI.

[3] Subba Reddy, D. V. (1966)—Glimpses of Health and Medicine in Mauryan Empire, Upgraded department of History of Medicine, Hyderabad, p. 65.

perilous task to piece-together these sources. However, an attempt has been *extracts, fragments and summaries.'* Even inspite of these handicaps, it is indeed a made in the present paper to highlight the epitomes of Indian medical science as gleaned from these fragmentary Graco-Roman Sources duly substantiated by the anterior, posterior and contemporary Indian and Greek sources.

The period of Graco-Roman sources ranges between early fufth Century B. C. to the second Century A. D. Among them the following deserves special mention[1] : Herodotus (circa 484-431 B. C.); Strabo (first Century B. C.); Arrian (circa 96-180 A. D.); Curtius (circa 41-54 A.D.); Apollonius (first Century A. D.) Pliny (circa 23-79 A.D.). Diodorus Siculus (second half of the first Century A.D.); Megasthenese (302-288 B C.) and Periplus (circa first Century A.D.). These Graco-Roman sources throw ample light on the history of ancient Indian Medicine.

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1. Herodotus—*The History*, tr. by McCrindle (1901), *op. cit.*, quoted in Ref. No.3, pp. 1-4.

Strabo - *Geography*, tr. by Jones, H. L.; Loeb Classical Library Series, quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 93-101; 244-287. McCrindle records that, *'It surpasses all the Geographical writings of antiquity both in grandeur of plan and in the abundance and variety of its material.*" quoted in Ref. No. 2, p.6.

Curtius—*The History of Alexander, the Great*, tr. by McCrindle (1896). The Invasion of Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin, London, 1896; Westminister 1893; quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 103-161;

Arrian—(1) *Anabases of Alexander*, tr. by McCrindle (1896), op. cit.
(2) *India*, tr. by McCrindle (1877)— Ancient India as described by Megasthenese and Arrian. quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 5-92; 14-231, 313-336;

Apollonius—*Biography*, tr. by Priaubx (1873), Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana, quoted in Ref. No. 3; pp. 382-412;

Pliny—*Naturalis Historia*, tr. by Bostock J and Riley, H. T. (1890) —The Natural History of Pliny; see also McCrindle's translation (1901), *op. cit.* Both quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 337-350.

Diodorus Siculus—*'Bibliotheka'*, tr. by McCrindle (1896), *op. cit.* quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 162-187;

Megasthenese—*Indica*, tr. by Schwanbeck, E. A. (1849); McCrindle (1877), *op. cit.*, pp. 1-174: see also McCrindle (1960)— Ancient India as described by Megasthenese and Arrian, Calcutta.

Periplus— *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, tr McCrindle (1876), *op. cit.* quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 288-312. Besides, see also E. R. Bevan - "India in the Early Greek and Latin Literature", C.H.I., *I*.

Aelian— *On the Peculiarities of Animals*, tr. by McCrindle (1877) quoted in Ref. No. 3, pp. 413-421.

Medical Science :

The Graco-Roman Sources highlighted the different aspects of medical sciences, notable among them were the knowledge of Surgery, medicinal gums, roots, and plants and their import and export along with the remedy of the large number of diseases of the human system. Strabo recorded[1] that *they (Indians) make no accurate study of sciences except that of Medicine*". Arrian[2] while quoting Nearchus testimony, further testify that, "*Alexander had all the most skilful of Indians in the healing art.*"

Thus, it can be deduced from the aforesaid fragmentary notices that Indians skilled themselves both as ardent medical scientists and also as honest medical historians. They, indeed, recorded their rich and highly beneficial knowledge with meticulous care and precision. To be candid enough, the two anterior encyclopaedic medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta, in fact glorify this rich tradition, which the Graco-Roman sources indirectly referred to. But surprisingly enough, one can notice the absence of these two anterior Indian medical historians in the Graco-Roman sources.

Equally surprising is a fact that the name of Caraka is not found in the treatise of Navanitika, while the name of Suśruta did occur in it. Was it a deliberate omission or motivated by some intentions ? It is very difficult to answer this. But it can be speculated that due to some professional rivalry between the Suśruta school of medical thought and Caraka school of thought, the Suśruta school of thought managed to gain its prominence while Caraka school of thought was lost into *abeyance*. Moreover another problem of the identification of Caraka and his date is still in the melting pot. Hence, an appropriate solution of these major problems will have to be searched for.

Regarding the Graco-Roman sources omission to mention the names of Caraka and Suśruta in their accounts, it can be questioned that did they omit to mention the names of Suśruta and Caraka intentionally due to some political reasons or was there any other reason for that ? the answer appears to be very simple. There can not be any political motive with which they avoided to name the two most prominent Indian medical scholars. What appears to be more logical that we do notice in the Graco-Roman sources a peculiar trend of recording fact about India, which prove their general aversion from collecting and recording facts about India scientifically and discursively. This was simply due to the fact that they were travellers first and historians afterwards. They were more dedicated to their assigned duties and political missions than towards their studies on Indian medicine

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1. See Ref. No. 3, Strabo, p.261.
2. *Ibid.*, Arrian, p.229.

systematically. What they could easily observed and gather information about Indians, they recorded it even at times without any physical verification and this amounted to few discrepancies in their general observations about India. They were rather more passionate for recording their adventures and impressions in much more in a general way, rather than in a sustained, disciplined and in a historical manner. But despite these impediments, the Graco-Roman sources when cautiously and corroboratively called together, throws much light on the achievements of the ancient Indians in the field of medical science.

Science of Surgery :

In the realm of Surgical Science, the Graco-Roman sources throw meagre light. Curtius,[1] who was himself a Greek Physician in the Persian Court, frankly admitted that even the skilful Greek surgeon like Cristobulus, "*was swayed by fear in a case so precarious and dreaded to put his hand to the work*" relating to surgical operation of Alexander's wound, Curtius further refers to the nature of the surgical operation which was widely opened by "*incision*" and *every remedy was applied to stop the blood-flowing*" (*bleeding*). It can be pointed out the Curtius evidence does not indicate that Alexander's surgical operation of 'incision' nature was conducted by the Greek Surgeons but on the other hand it indicates the incompetency of Greek Surgeons in operating such a precarious operation. On account of his silence in naming the surgeon, it can be surmised that as the Indian Surgeons excelled themselves in the science of Surgery, since the time of Suśruta,[3] the surgical operation of Alexander's wound may have been successfully operated by an Indian Surgeon, which the Graco-Roman historians have left unnoticed either intentionally or due to the lack of their knowledge of historiography. *Suśruta Saṁhitā*[4] testifying the varacity of Curtius evidence, records that the surgical operation of the "*Incision or Bhedana*" nature was successfully operated by the Indian Surgeon's in ancient India.

Different diseases, their nature and remedies :

The Graco-Roman sources throw meagre light on the different Indian diseases, their nature and their remedies relating to the human and animal beings.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Curtius, p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

[3] *Suśruta Saṃhitā* belonged to the 8th century B. C., who flourished prior to Caraka, see *S.S.*, *Vol. I*, p. x. Regarding the Science of Surgery Suśruta records that "Surgery is the highest division of the healing art, least liable to fallacy, perpetual in its applicability, the worthy produce of heaven, the sure success of fame on earth." See *S.S.*, *Sū.*, *I*, *18-19*.

[4] *S.S*, *Sū*, *V*, *3*; The verse refers to eight kinds of Surgical operations out of which 'incision' or Bhedana is one of them.

Regarding the diseases relating to the human beings, the Graco-Roman sources refer to the following—Lameness, blindness, wound, ulcer, poisoning, dysentery, indigestion, fever, malaria, and impotency etc. But as regards the diseases of animal beings, the opthalmia of Elephants is worthy of mention.

THE DISEASES OF THE HUMAN BEINGS

A. Lame and Blindness :

Apollonius records[1] that Iarchac, a Greek physician, who was "*a source of immence good to mankind*" has "*discovered several remedies for diseases, and herbs for wounds*" besides curing the children and men from lameness and blindness by using the '*Indian suppliants*'. Pliny refers[2] to the Shrubs of juices which cures the blindness. Strabo records[3] that the eye-diseases were cured by bathing the eyes with the cow's milk. It can be observed that the Graco-Roman accounts does not mention the specific name and nature of '*Indian suppliants*' which cured both the diseases of Lameness and Blindness. Similarly, Pliny is also silent on the specific shrubs of juices which cured blindness. These evidences are, indeed, too sketchy and general, but they are undoubtedly, accurate as they corroborate with the *Suśruta Saṃhitā*.[4] Further, Strabo's evidence of bathing the eye's with the cow's milk is also testified by Suśruta Saṁhitā.[5] Pliny and Periplus[6] although refer to the large scale export of the oil of spikenard from the Indian ports, but they are silent on its medicinal importance. The contemporary treatise of Dioskoride's Materica Medica[7] refers to it as 'Nordos' (I.5), while an anterior literary work Suśruta Saṁhitā[1] *also refers to it as* "Nalada or Visvia" which combined with other medicinal plants and mixed in Ghṛta when applied on the affected eye, cures eye-diseases.

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[1] See Ref. No. 3, Appollonius, p. 406; Strabo, p. 265.

[2] Puri, B. N. (1963)— India in Classical Greek Writings, Calcutta, p. 152; quoted Pliny, B.K. XII. 18.

[3] Ref. No. 3. Strabo, p. 265.

[4] The lameness (Khañja) and its diseases (*Vāta kaṇṭaka*) and Blindness (*Timira* or *Dhūmadarśī*) and its diseases (Adhimantha or Ophthalmia) were cured by the Indian suppliants and shurbs juices See for Lameness - *SS*, *Nid. I, 62-63, Chi, IV. 16-20*; See for Blindness - *SS*, *Utt. VIII-XVI*; *Ibid, VIII, 2* (Refers to 76 kinds of eye-diseases); *Ibid, VII, 6*; *Ibid, VI, 2-7*.

[5] *SS*, *Utt. IX. 1·2*. Refers to milk used in poulticing the affected organ, shrubs of several plants including *pippalī;* which was boiled with half water and milk and then used both in washing the affected eye as eye-drops (*Āścyotana*).

[6] Srivastava, B (1968)—Trade and Commerce in Ancient India, p. 295, quoted Pliny, XII, 26, Periplus, 42, 56; see also Warmington, E. H. (1928). The commence between Roman Empire and India, Cambridge.

[7] Jairsjabhoy, R. A. (1963)— Foreign influence in Ancient India, Bombay, p. 77.

B. Wound or Ulcer diseases :

The Graco-Roman sources record three kinds of wounds i. e., wounds caused by Snake-poisoned[2] weapon's; simple words,[3] cicatrised wounds,[4] and serious kind of wounds known as 'ulcers'.[5] As regards their remedies, Strabo refers[6] to the melted butter which heals up the wounds. Apollonius records[7] that Iarchas, a Greek hilosopher cures woulds by the use of herbs. Certain serious wounds were also cured by the surgical operations. Pliny records that a cicatrised wound was cured by the juice of the olive tree.[8] Strabo records[9] that *ulcers are* poulticed *with Swines flesh.*" It is evident, that the different wounds were cured by the application of Indian Suppliants, medicinal plants and surgical operations. It can be observed that we notice in Graco-Roman evidences a sad tendency of recording facts in a general way. They are silent on the specific names of medicinal plants or herbs and the process of their application in curing different wounds. As regards Pliny's olive tree (Olea Europea) which cures cicatrised wounds, it can be pointed out that as this plant is of oily nature, Suśruta Saṁhitā[10] also refers to the large number of oil bearing medicinal plants, whose application cures such wounds. But due to the lack of sufficient data, it is very difficult to identify Pliny's olive tree with the Suśruta Saṁhitā's oil bearing plants. Inspite of these handicaps, it is a pleasing fact to notice that Suśruta Saṁhitā[11] duly testify the Graco-Roman Accounts.

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1. *S.S. Utt. XII, 6-7.*
2. Curtius, p. 153; Diodorus Siculus, p.182-183, *quoted in Ref. No. 3.*
3. Strabo, p. 265; Apollonius, p. 406 quoted in *Ibid.*
4. See Ref. No. 13, p. 156.
5. Strabo, p. 265, quoted in Ref. No. 3.
6. Ibid.
7. Apollonius, p. 406, quoted in *Ibid.*
8. See Ref. No. 13, p. 156.
9. Strabo, p. 265, quoted in Ref. No. 3.
10. Oilbearing medicinal plants. *SS*, Su. *XLV. 46-53.*
11. *S. S. Chi II. 18-20.* (Refers to clarified butter mixed with different plant substances, used as poultices). *Ibid, I, 1-120* (Refers to different kinds of ulcers diseases and their treatments). *Ibid, I, 22* (Refers the medicinal and surgical treatment of ulcer being devided into 60 different factors out of one is Poultice (Upanaha); *SS, Sū. V. 3* (Refers to 8 kinds of surgical operations out of one is incision);

C. Poisoning :

Arrian records[1] that, "no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek Physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten." The Greeks had learnt the cure of snake-bite from the Indians. The Graco-Roman sources records that poisoning by snake-bite was cured by the juice of an Indian plant. Both Curtius and Diodorus Siculus[2] credited Alexander, the Great for discovering an Indian medicinal plant whose *application atonce removed the pain and speedily cicatrised the wound of Ptolemy caused by the injury from the snake-poisoned weapon.*" Diodorus Siculus[3] further records that the plant was "*ground into a powder and not only laid as a plaster on Ptolemy's body but also a portion was (administered to him and thus means restored to health.*" It can be observed here that the corroborative evidences of Curtius and Diodorus Siculus relating to the discovery of an Indian medicinal plant by Alexander, the Great, are opened for grave doubts. Since the Graco-Roman historians had already acknowledged the Indian contribution of the cure from the snake-bite to the Greek world of medicine, the evidences of both Curtius and Diodorus Siculus go against the competency of Alexander, the Great to discover an Indian medicinal plant in a land which was unknown to him. It is quite likely that Alexander had discovered a medicinal plant through an Indian Physician, serving in his empire, which the Graco-Roman historians finally credited to Alexander, the Great, in order to flatter the Greek prejudices and Greek vanity. But that fact remains tangibly true, that the Indians excelled themselves in the realm of curing the cases of Snake-bite from Indian medicinal plants used both as mixtures and powders. **Suśruta Saṃhitā[4]** further testifies the use of medicinal plants for curing the bite from the snake-poison.

D. Dysentery :

Pliny mentions[5] the red bark of a root called 'Macir' was imported from India, whose decoction with honey was used for curing the dysentery. Hence,

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SS, Ka. V. (Refers to the treatment from the snake-bite and wounds caused by the Snake-Poisoned darts etc. Being cured by the docoction of barks sprayed powder or washed the spot and also by the application of drugs prepared with different medicinal plants).

[1] Arrian, XV, quoted in McCrindle (1960), *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[2] Curtius, p. 153; Diodorus Siculus, p. 182-183; quoted in Ref, No. 3.

[3] See Ref. No. 3, p. 182-183.

[4] *SS. Ka V.* (Refers to the cure of snake-bite wounds and snake-poisoned wounds with the application of poultices and decoction of different Indian medicinal plants).

[5] Jairsjabhoy, R. A. (1963)-*op. cit.*, p. 78.

according to Jairsjabhoy[1] this curative root was also new to the Greeks. Suśruta Saṁhitā[2] testifying the foregoing evidence of Pliny, records that the soup different medicinal plants mixed with honey, could also cure diarrhoea. It is strange to notice that Pliny's macir plant like his olive tree has not been mentioned in the Suśruta Saṁhitā, 'nor it has been corroboratively referred to in any of the Graco-Roman accounts. But as Suśruta Saṃhitā[3] refers to some of the plants of the red bark whose decoction with honey cures the desease of diarrhoea it is quite likely that Pliny's Macir plant may have been any one of them, Pliny's account is authentic as it has been te tified by the Suśruta Saṃhitā.

E. Indigestion, Fevers and Malaria diseases :

Pliny[4] and Periplus refer to 'Giger' (Sanskrit Sṛṅgivera) and Pepper (Sanskrit, *Pippali*), which were exported to Rome, Ceylone and other countries from the trading ports of Barygaza, Malabar, Travancore cost, etc. But they are generally silent on their medicinal importance. Pepper was probably used as an antidote against Malaria.[5] The veracity of the Graco-Roman accounts can be judged by the fact that Ginger has been mentioned in the medical works of Hippocratic[6] manuals Dioscorides, Celesus, Scribonius, which is said to be used for the digestive purposes.[7] The Indian medical treatise, Suśruta Saṁhitā[8] also refers to the use of Ginger which cures indigestion and fevers. Further the Indian pepper is also testified by the Hippocratic manuals,[9] which referred to it as an Indian remedy for agues and fevers. Suśruta Saṁhitā[10]

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1. Ibid.
2. *S. S. Utt. XL, 28-29.*
3. Plants of red bark. i.e. Mañjiṣṭhā and Lodhra, see. SS. Utt. XL. 33-34. Mixed with honey cured diarrhoea.
4. Pliny, XII. 14, Periplus, 49. quoted in Ref. No. 17, p. 296.
5. Allbutt, Sir T. Clifford-Greek Medicine in Rome, quoted in *Bull. N. I. S. I., No. 21, 1963; p. 16.*
6. Filliozat, J. (1964)–The Classical doctrine of Indian Medicine, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, p. 253 (refers to Peperi).
7. Sen, (1963) Transmission of Scientific Ideas between India and Foreign Countries in Ancient and Medieval Times'. *Bull N. I. S. I., No. 21, 1963*, pp. 16-17. see Warmington E. H.–The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, 1' 28. see also Filliozat. J. (1964) *op. cit*, p 253.
8. *SS, Utt. LVI, 11.*
9. Sen, S. (1963), *op.cit.*, p. 17.
10. *SS, Sut. XXXVIII; SS. Utt. XXXIX, 50; Ibid, 78-81; Ibid,, LVL. 14*; (cures cholera & fever). *SS, Ka. VIII, 24.* It is also referred in the Atharvaveda as a remedy for gout and malaria. See *Ath. VI. 11.109*, q. in Gordon, B. L. (1949). Medicine throughout antiquity. Philadelphia, p. 320.

also testify the use of Pippali, along with other medicinal plants (i. e. Pippaliyādi group for curing kaphaja and fever, malaria and cholera etc.

F. Impotency :

Recording Strabo's evidence, Megasthenese[1] mentions that the Brahmanas knowledge of Pharmacy make the marriages fruitful and even determine the sex of the offspring. It is further recorded[2] that *"where conjugal infidelity in a wife was due to a husband ommission to exercise a vigorous control, it was condemned by the public opinion"*. This evidence throws light on the cure of the diseases of impotency through pharmaceutical drugs. The veracity of Megasthenese evidence can be testified by the testimony of Suśruta Saṁhitā,[3] which refers to the powders of Pippali, Masha pulse, Sesamum, Sali-rice, Wheat, Barley, etc. and other drugs responsible for the *Vāji Karana* remedies (impotency). According to Keith[4] she *Vāji Karaṇa tantra* (the science of physical virility) constituted as one of the eight subjects of Atharvaveda. Moreover, Aṇḍabhūta Jātaka[5] also indicates that the methods were known for determining the sex of the unborn child.

The Diseases of Animal beings :

The Graco-Roman accounts furnish meagre light on the achievements of ancient Indians in the realm of Veterinary science. They throw light on the diseases of Elephants and their cures. It is indeed a matter of surprise that though Strabo[6] referred to the systematic method of catching Elephants, yet he is silent on the nature and cure of Blephant diseases. Equally surprising is the fact, that none of the Graco-Roman accounts, except that of Megasthenese[7] furnish light on the science of Indian Elephantology. This can be explained by the fact that by the time of Megasthenese arrival in India, the elephantology had already become a specialized branch of Veterinary Science. Referring to the 'Opthalmita'

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1. Megasthenese, Frag. XLI, 60, quoted in McCrindle (1960), op.cit., p. 102.
2. Megasthenese. Frag. 27, Strabo XV. C. 709, quoted in Bevan, E. R.—India in Early Greek & Latin literature, *C. H. I.*, *I*, p 372.
3. *SS*, *Chi. XXVI*.
4. Keith, A. B. (1960)— Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas, Motilal Benarasi Das, 1960, p. 598.
5. Cowell, E.B. (1957)—The Jataka or Stories of Buddhas' Former Births, Luzac & Co., London, No. 62; p. 151, 1957.
6. Strabo, p. 264, quoted in Ref. No. 3.
7. Megasthenese, Frag. XXXVI, Ibid. Frag, XXXVIII, quoted in McCrindle (1960), *op.cit.*, p. 92-93.

of Elephants and its cures, Megasthenese[1] records that it was cured by applying the cow milk firstly by fomenting the eyes and then injected into it. In order to avoid the inflammation of the elephants wounds, it is recorded that the wounds were fomented with the lukeworm water and *"after this, they (Indian) rub them over with butter, and inserted the pork"*. The remedy[2] for other distempers to which they were liable, was the black-wine. Megasthenese[3] further records that sores of elephants *"are fomented with Swine's flesh"*, and for the cure of their wounds the Elephants *are made to swallow butter for this daws out riron"*.

It can be pointed out that Megastheneses Elephantology has already achieved a physiognomy which have been indubitably testified in the texts of Elephantology, particularly in the Ayurveda of Elephants; the Hastyāyurveda of Muni Pālākapya. Filliozat[4] confirms that, *the prescription indicated by Megasthenese (as already stated) were in conformity with those of this Ayurveda.*" The veracity of Megasthenese evidences in this regard can be testified further by the Greek texts of Illiad, which Megasthenese[5] himself confessed, of course, in a prejudiced manner, that Indian treat Elephants *"in the way in which, as good old Homer tells us. Patroklos treated the wound of Eurypylos"* It is quite likely, that unlike Hippocratic manuals, the work of Homer, must had been influenced by the ancient Indian medical texts through an Achaemenian Kingdom.[6] However, the evidences of Megasthenese bears remarkable accuracy.

It is strange, but of course interesting to point out that though Suśruta Saṁhitā does not deal with the Veterinary Science, yet we do find a remarkable resemblance with the evidences of Megasthenese Elephantology. Suśruta Saṁhitā,[7] while dealing with the diseases of opthalmia "Abhishyanda of human beings. refers to its cure by duly fomenting it with the clarified butter, by washing or rubbing it with the flesh of any aquatic (Jalaja) animal and also by the use of milk in poulticing the affected eye. All these evidences of Suśruta Saṁhitā tallies well with the Megasthenese accounts of Elephantology.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Filliozat, J. (1933) Les gajaśāstra et the auteurs grecs, *J.A.*, 1933, p.169.
5. Megasthenese, Frag. XXXVIII, For veracity, of the Megasthenese Statements, see *Illiad, BK. XI. 845*: q. *op. cit., p. 92.*
6. See Ref. No. 40, pp 238-257.
7. SS. Utt. IX. 1-2;

Thus the foregoing accounts cleary reveal that though the Graco-Roman accounts relating to different diseases[1] and their cures are too sketcy and general in nature yet they are authentic and reliable as they have all been corroborated by the Indian and Greek anterior literary sources.

The Science of Midwifery :

The science of midwifery was fairly advanced in ancient India. Diodorus Siculus[2] refers to "Midwives" who were fully specialized in "Garbhavyādhi-saṁstha" (Embroyological diseases) and "Sūtikā Cikitsā" (child-birth) according to Kauṭilya.[3] Megasthenese records that[4] from the time of conception in the womb the pregnant woman were placed under the care of a learned Brahmin, who under the pretence of using some incantatious for himself and her pregnancy, in reality, gave her useful instructions. The women who pay heed over them willingly, were thought to be the most fortunate in their children. This clearly indicates that how much antinatal care of pregnant women were taken by the Indian physicians. It can be observed that the Graco-Roman account referring to the science of Midwifery is extremely sketchy. The information supplied by Diodorus Siculus and Megasthenese are accurate as they are also corroborated by Kauṭilya's Arthasastra and the much earlier work of Suśruta Saṁhitā,[5] which systematically refer to the science of Midwifery and pre-natal care.

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1. Besides *Suśruta Saṃhitā*, *Atharvaveda* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* also referred to the diseases like consumption, haemorrhoids, abscesses, dysentry, ulcers, fever, malaria, leprosy, eye-diseases, etc, see Keith, A.B. - The period of later *Saṃhita*, the *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas* and *Upaniṣhads C. H. I. I*, p. 123.
2. Diodorus Siculus, p. 241 ; q. in Ref. No. 3,
3. Mookerji, R. K. ( ), Chandra Gupta Maurya and his times, p. 139 (For midwifery in Mauryan times)
4. Megasthenese, Farg. XLI, see McCrindle–(1960)-*op. cit.*, p. 98.
5. *SS, Sar. X*; *Chi. XV*.

Book Review

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE EPIC SOCIETY :

By *Asok Kumar Majumdar*, 1977. Published by Progressive
Publishers 37 A, College Street, Calcutta 700 073.
Pages 256+xii, Rs. 40.00.

The first major research publication of Dr. A. K. Majumdar was the *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (1955), but during his stay with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan he could not devote much personal attention to researches in the ancient period of Indian history and culture. It is gratifying to find Dr. Mujumdar contributing once again to his original field of research. We welcome his present scholarly study.

In the publication under review Dr. Majumdar has consulted the critical editions of the two Epics. The desirability of the use of the critical edition for any research study does not require any arguing. An analysis of the rich cultural data in the Epics is bound to throw new light on the nature and chronology of the Epics. But, in this context, a careful consideration of the readings not accepted for the critical editions is not of less importance.

For any study based on the critical editions a question of great relevance is the date to which they are supposed to refer. Dr. Majumdar takes the Epic age to range from the end of the Vedic age to the rise of Buddhism, that is, from C. 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C. For the present study we have to first decide specifically the date by which the texts as determined by the critical apparatus took their form. Apparently all the passages included in the critical editions do not necessarily belong to the chronological span laid down by Dr. Majumdar for the Epic age. Some of these were added in the period after C. 500 B.C. Admitedly no monograph can be expected to cover all possible aspects of a study. What is, however, necessary is the recognition of the various possibilities. Dr. Majumdar is rightly conscious of the need for determining a chronological stratification for the information available in the text; but, in the present work, he confines himself to the collection of the material, leaving the task of preparing an economic history to future researchers.

In this connexion we may point out that Dr. Majumdar compares his material with information from other sources. But, generally he seeks comparision with material in the works ascribed to Kauṭilya, Manu and Yājñavalkya. It would have been more meaningful if there had been a greater emphasis on comparision with material known to belong to the Epic age.

This is no doubt the first monograph exclusively on the economic data in the Epics, so that Dr. Majumdar has to lament, the absence of a *pūrvasūri* in this line of investigation. But, some of the problems investigated in the monograph have received some attention of earlier scholars in a few research articles or monographs. Dr. Majumdar often analyses the Epic data on his own without taking much notice of the earlier studies.

The monograph claims to analyse the economic background of the Epic society. Chapter I (Prologue) discusses certain general problems connected with date, authorship and text of the two Epics. Two chapters each are devoted to the society and economics in the Epics. Chapter VI (In Retrospect) discusses certain general problems about the economic history of ancient India, even though they do not have full relevance for the Epic period. Chapter VII (Epilogue), likewise, deals with certain aspects of Epic religion and philosophy. Discussion falling strictly under the title of the monograph is to be found in Chapter V and sections 3 to 5 in Chapter II.

Dr. Majumdar is to be congratulated for his fresh approach to the much-studied Epic texts. There are many areas of economic life which can yield more information on, for example, industrial geography, trade routes and economic policy of the state. We hope the study will inspire further researches in economic history and also parallel studies in other aspects of society and culture as reflected in the Epics (*cf. Evolution of morals in the Epics* by Dhairyabala P. Vora, 1960; *Political Ideas and Institutions in the Mahābhārata* by B. P. Roy, 1976).

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THE YOGASŪTRA OF PATAÑJALI by *Bangali Baba.* Published by Motilal Banarsidass A Ullah Marg, Jawahar nagar, Delhi-110 007, Pp 115, Price Rs, 25/- 1977

The book under review is the best and most authoritative translation of Patañjala Yogasutras and a guide to concentration and meditation. There have been many excellant commentaries offered over the years but "The Yogasutras of Patañjali" by Bangali Baba is unique. The value of this current text lies in its simplicity, correct translation of the Aphorisms in simple english and with an appendix and also a chart of terminology of the Yogasūtras showing the significance of the terms and establishing their identity with those of the Sāṁkhya, the Brahmasūtra, the Bhagavadgītā and the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika at the end of the book. The book comprises of four precise chapters explaining the science of yoga in all its aspects, the philosophy behind yoga and the stages of soul realisation and how man can awaken to the awareness of his full evolutionary potential. The Aphorisms relate to the subject of Spiritual Absorption (Samādhi), Means of Practice (Sādhanā), Accomplishments (Vibhūti) and Emancipation (Kaivalya). Chapter I explains the grades of spiritual Action for the restraint of the exhibitive operations of the mind. Untill that is done no yogic achievement is possible. Chapter II deals with the process of Material Action which can attenuate the gross impurities that have entered into the mind. Chapter III pertains to the Dissolutionary change of the worldly life by means of saṁyama. Chapter IV explains the working of three-fold action; the present action, the stored up action and the regulated frutive action. The author expounds how the individual soul released from the bond of actions realises the Reality of the Supreme Being wherein the individual souls merge as rivers do into the ocean.

The different yoga systems in India prescribe different ways in which a man comes into live contact with the Infinite that is within him. They are not life-denying or self-destroying as is often taken to be; rather they are disciplines involving moral prescriptions (yama), and practises (niyama), perfect body-postures (āsanas) which prepare one for spiritual upliftment, breath-control (prāṇāyāma), withdrawal of the senses (pratyāhāra), concentration (dhāraṇā), meditation (dhyāna) and absorption (samādhi). The first two consist of moral excellence in worldly affairs, the next three take the mind inwards to the superconscious state. These form the eight cardinal limbs of yoga mentioned by Patañjali. Bangali Baba, like Patañjali agrees that ethical excellence is the very foundation of spiritual life.

In the course of his translation and explanation of the Sūtras the author has stressed the fact that the primary aim of Patañjali is not (yoga) union but (viyoga) disunion which is attained through the disjoining of the Prakṛti from Puruṣa. Through this disunion is obtained an extreme relief from sorrow, the attainment of the state of Kaivalya or extinction of sorrow. The author avers that the central problem of all Indian philosophical systems are ways of liberation which is peculiar to Indian thought as distinguished from the Western counterpart. The analysis of the technique of liberation in Yoga at various levels—the somatic, the ethical and the psychological is very elaborate and backed by exhaustive references from the Sūtras as well as from the commentaries. Possibly no other system of thought has so much to contribute to ancient Psychology of both East and West as Pātañjala Yoga, The Vedānta of Śaṅkara follows the Upanishadic Pattern, and does not analyse conciousness in such acute and careful details in all its forms as the Yoga does and our author does full justice to its treatment. The Yoga caps all this detailed analyses by the mention of what our author posits the metaphysical level of postulating the metaphysical ideal of realisation of pure and Absolute being of the Self freed from all predication (vikalpa). Achieving it is not acquiring a new state, but only a discovery of the intrinsic being which is always within us.

The author Bangali Baba has done well to confine his study to Pātañjala-Yoga and classical commentaries of Yoga Bhāṣya of Vyāsa and Tattva Vaisāradi of Vācaspati Miśra. Yoga has become a much misused and abused term, associated with charlatany. But Bangali Baba has done well and the entire system of Yoga, in all its categories is nowhere better treated than in this book and he claims it as a practical discipline and a system of philosophical thought. The book is particularly important for the insight it gives into the intellectual struggle in contacting the Infinite through explaining which the author has brought to the focus the value of the philosophy of Patañjali.

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THE REVOLT OF 1857 IN HARYANA by *Dr. K. C. Yadav*

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Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110002

The revolt of 1857 in our country marks a turning point in the history of our people—social, constitutional, political as well as national. Though it became a failure, at the very outset, it not only expressed the latent urge and aspiration in the people for political emancipation from the British yoke, but also taught the latter a good lesson, that for governing the country, the association of Indians in the administrative set-up was essential for their very existence. Not all, but at least some among the British ruling class understood it after the revolt. Whatever may be the attitude of the British historians about this revolt—a mutiny, a sepoy revolt or a handful of selfish people's adventure-to-day the historians of our country are dubious about calling it a mere mutiny; to most of them it was the explosion of the dormant spirit of recalcitrance and revolt of the nation against the ruler-as the elevation of Bahadur Shah II on the throne of Delhi and his subsequent activities clearly testify. Undoubtedly the people, as well as the soldiers, who joined in this revolt, committed some mistakes and hence the British took advantage of each of them. Still then it cannot be coloured as a mutiny of merely a handful of men and sepoys, and thus its importance cannot be set aside.

The book under review is a research work of Dr. K. C. Yadav, Reader in History, B. N. Chakraborty University, Kurukshettra. The publication of this work has been financially supported by the Indian Counncil of Historical Research and it has been published by Manohar Book Service, New Delhi. The author dedicates this book to his teacher, Dr. H. R. Gupta, The pages of the book as well as the get-up are fine and attractive. It contains 192 pages including seven appendices.

Dr. Yadav's work contains nine chapters with a detail of events about the revolt of 1857 in Haryana. The historical background of the region, the gathering storm and the outbrust of revolt are most interesting for the readers to note. The use of the cartridges for the Enfield rifle manufactured at Fort William in Calcutta and the spread other news by a Bengali clerk after translating into vernaculars regarding the make and use of the cartridges shall impress the readers about the original approach of the author. The strange hysteria that gripped the sepoys at Dum-Dum with the belief that the Government was determined to convert them to christianity, also spread with magical speed as far as Ambala and other places on the west. The writer is bold enough to refute the earlier contention of the historians that the uprising of the sepoys had been started at first at Ambala and not at Meerut (p.49). The author quotes the letter of Dr. R.C. Majumdar in which the latter confesses (p. 137) that it is "a news to me and probably to many others". The writer is also more informative in providing his readers with a comprehensive account of all those martyrs and forgotton leaders who participated in this uprising in Haryana (pp. 139-165). So long our knowledge about them was gleaned through occasional references in the earlier works. Dr. Yadav's work represents a great deal of research in the basic sources which throw light on the revolt of 1857. The author has examined nearly all the primary and secondary sources, including the works in Hindi and Urdu.

Still, the book is not free from defects. There is a tendency of repeating the account of the Ambala uprising that started the great uprising (p.49, 51, 129 etc.). Though we agree with most of the conclusions of the author, it seems embarrassing when the author quotes in his conclusion a number of opinions of different writers. As a matter of fact the entire conclusion is almost a string of quotatians and excerpts. Whereas the writer himself admits in the preface, that an author "is supposed to approach his subject as a judge", he himself quotes rather too many opinions of many writers, which is liable to jeopordise the basis of one's own judgement. Moreover the different opinions and views quoted in the conclusion do also figure in the earlier chapters. At least the conclusion should be free from such opinions, and it should be reserved for the author, where he is to judge the entire episode according to his own standpoint. Thus it lacks the author's individual judgement to a great extent, which he professed to do at the very start.

Still the writer deserves praise and appreciation from us as there is much original thinking in the book. It is a historical account of importance bridging some wide gaps in the existing knowledge of Haryana in the mid-19th century. Though the book is mainly written about the revolt in Haryana, it cannot be denied, in a greater sense, that it is the history of the revolt of 1857 in India, So, it is not a local history of the period but has a connecting link with the history of the whole of northern India. The students of Modern Indian History in general and the research scholars in particular, shall derive real benefit from the book and hence shall remain grateful to the author for his scholarly work.

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